

# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

MARCH 1947

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**A MAGAZINE INTERPRETING TO THE THOUGHTFUL TEACHER AND THE PUBLIC THE  
SIGNIFICANCE OF ANCIENT CLASSICAL CIVILIZATION IN ITS RELATION  
TO MODERN LIFE**

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The general subscription price is \$2.50 a year in the United States. For other countries an extra charge of 25¢ for postage is made (total \$2.75). Single copies, 35¢ (foreign, 40¢). Subscriptions for less than a year will be charged at the single copy rate.

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL is published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South with the cooperation of the Classical Association of New England, the Classical Association of the Pacific States, and the Classical Association of the Atlantic States. The annual volume consists of eight issues (October through May).

Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at Menasha, Wis., on October 19, 1934. Additional entry as second-class matter at St. Louis, Mo., under Act of August 24, 1912. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on October 19, 1934.

Printed by the George Banta Publishing Company, Menasha, Wisconsin.

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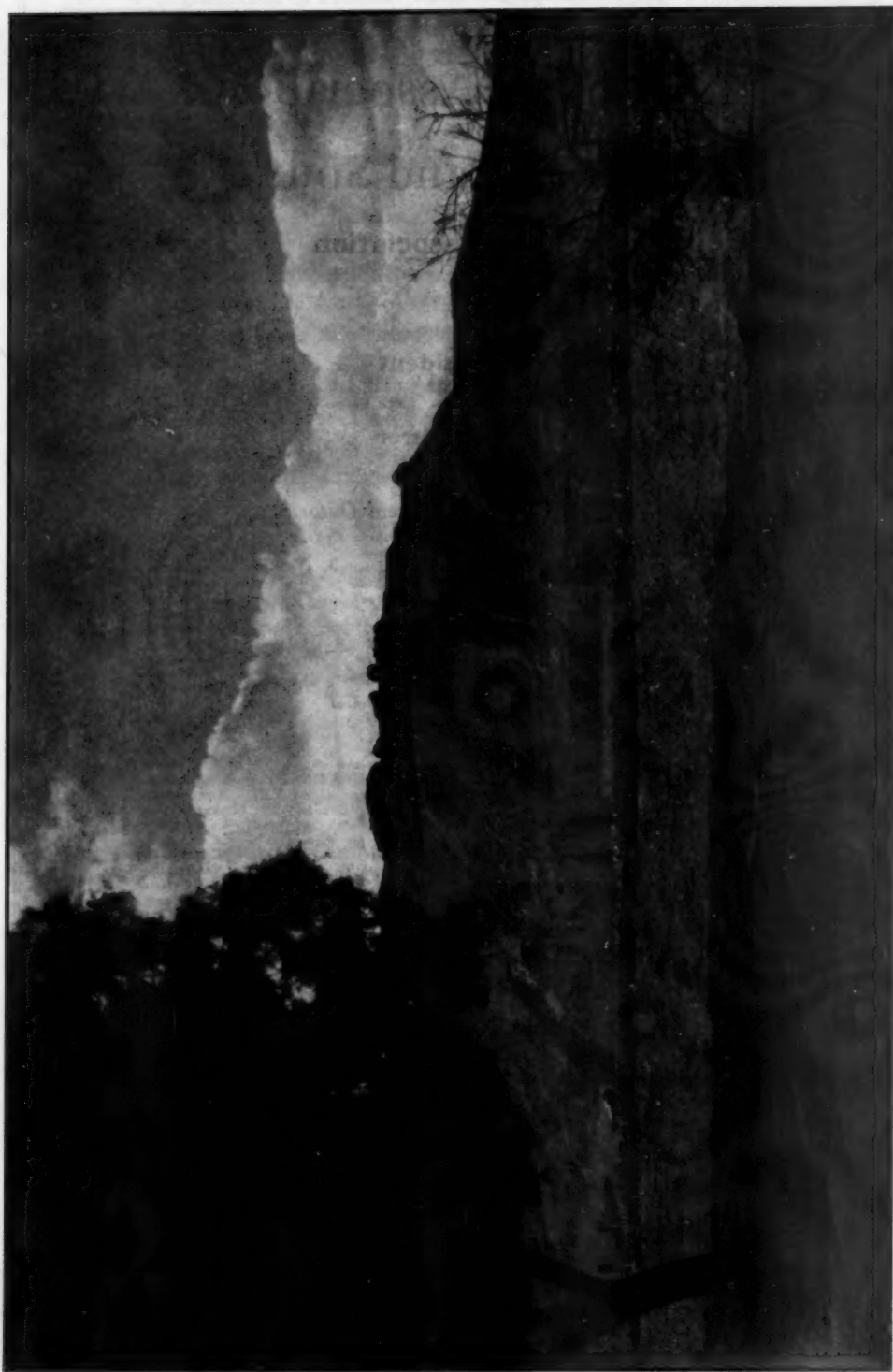


FIGURE 3. AUJA: THE CITADEL SEEN FROM THE VALLEY, SHOWING THE NORTH END OF THE FORTRESS AND THE NORTH CHURCH, THEIR RUINS SILHOUETTED AGAINST THE SKY. ("WHO READ VERGIL IN ZIN?")



# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Volume 42

Number 6

MARCH 1947

*Theodosius I built a chain of frontier forts along the southern border of Palestine to keep out the Arabs. But no one had ever thought to dig there until . . .*



## Who Read Vergil in Zin?

by H. Dunscombe Colt

"**T**HEY didn't know where they were going, when they got there they didn't know where they were, they had no idea what they were looking for, and when they found it they didn't know what they'd found!"

These are the slanderous terms in which a friend once introduced our happy-go-lucky excavations at Auja el-Hafir. Like much other slander, this had a backbone of uncomfortable truth; how and why, I shall explain in the pages which follow.

### *Tyche: The Choice of Sites*

AFTER a four-year apprenticeship with Sir Flinders Petrie at Tell Fara and Tell Ajjul, and a year's collaboration with the late J.

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(Harris) Dunscombe Colt was born in New York in 1901. He was educated at St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire, and at Oxford University, where he studied anthropology and archaeology. Irresistibly drawn to a career in field archaeology, he has excavated in England, Malta, Egypt, Palestine and Syria; from 1928 to 1930 he dug with Sir Flinders Petrie at Tell Fara and from 1930 to 1932 with Petrie at Tell Ajjul; in 1932-1933 he was with Starkey at Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish). Since 1933 he has directed expeditions to Sbeitia, Auja and Abda. The final report on the excavations at Auja, by Mr. Colt and his colleagues, is in the final stages of preparation; it is to be in three volumes, of which two should be published in 1948.

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Leslie Starkey at Lachish, in Southern Palestine, I decided to branch off with an expedition of my own. The question was, what site shall I dig?

It seemed foregone that we should select one of the late antique fortress towns strung by Theodosius I (379-395 A.D.) along the southeastern frontier of his Byzantine empire. This would keep us in country we knew well, and, perhaps equally important, in a country where we were known by the Beduin tribes; in a country where large timber has not stood for several thousand years, requiring him who would build to work in stone, and where the traveler can still see huge forts and buildings massively constructed of fine masonry; where many explorers, among them Leonard Woolley and the great T. E. Lawrence of Arabia, had copied inscriptions and traced the foundations of buildings rising above the surface, but where no one had deigned to excavate; and where a brief period of prosperity had left a single occupation stratum, which would give an excellent cross-section of one homogeneous culture and an easily-recovered ground plan. Finally, was it not in the Wilderness of Zin, the storied land of Israelite wandering, with its special emotion for biblical students and always the possibility of finding some memento of that epic journey?

Having reached this conclusion, we then had to make the fatal choice of a particular ruin for our efforts. Here luck, the goddess Tyche, was sure to play the headline role. Abda, Kurnub, Sbeita and Raheiba were all imposing, with churches and other buildings standing above ground; in the end we chose Sbeita, the ancient Sobata, for such material considerations as its accessibility from the Jerusalem-Egypt desert highway, and the availability of water. Since private individuals are not allowed to excavate in Palestine, the concession was issued in the name of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.

As you travel south from Jerusalem you pass Beersheba, the last vestige of modern civilization, and enter the Wilderness of Zin. You skirt the hill on which the ruins of the little monastery of Mishrafa stand, and cross the frontier into Egypt near Kossaima. But if at Mishrafa you turn left off the highroad, and continue down the broad valley which leads toward the Wadi Araba and on to Aqaba, you will soon see before you the picturesque ruined apses of three large Byzantine churches surrounded by masses of broken house walls. It might look like a very dismal place to make one's home for three years, but it *could* prove to be an archaeologist's dream site.

We pitched our tents in what had been a garden at the edge of town.

### *Sbeita*

FOR A WEEK we prospected contentedly for a likely place to start. At the end of that week a sandstorm came up at midnight and blew all our tents down, and we spent the rest of the night clinging to our more volatile possessions. In the grim light of dawn we agreed to take up residence in a more sheltered refuge. The cook-tent, dining-tent and store-tent found sanctuary in the bottom of a large ancient reservoir in the center of the ruins; the rest of us picked out likely house walls and pitched our private tents in their lee. Several weeks later Sbeita had its first drenching rain in years; this put two feet of water in the reservoir, in which our supplies floated or sank, as befitted their natures, and forced us

to evacuate to still another location, which served our purpose until our expedition house was built. Our dream site could produce very bad dreams.

We dug at Sbeita from November 1933 to May 1934, and from November 1934 to May 1935. We went out again in November 1935, intending to put in another full season at the site, but as we shall see, this was to suffer an unexpected interruption.

During the first two campaigns we completely excavated the three churches (FIGURES 1 AND 2), and recovered the ground plans of them and the surrounding buildings, and also cleared a complete insula of private houses. Confidentially, our discoveries failed to shake the archaeological world; but we did find a dozen new grave inscriptions, numerous graffiti scribbled on the plaster walls, three ostraca, several hundred coins, and storerooms full of glass and pottery. In the riots of 1938, five Arabs from Jerusalem hired a taxi, called at the camp, burned the expedition house and my bright yellow model T Ford, and went away; this cost us the glass and pottery collections and some of our records, but most of the inscribed objects and scientific equipment had been stored in safety somewhere else, and we ourselves were far away.

When we set up the Sbeita camp, it was necessary to bring water, always a precious merchandise in those lands, from some distance. One of our first acts was to clean the silt out of four or five ancient cisterns and repair the old conduits, so that when it rained these cisterns would get their share. For two seasons this worked beautifully; the first heavy rains filled the tanks and gave us water enough for the whole campaign.

But the third year was a year of drought throughout the whole region of Southern Palestine. At the start of the season we found a little carry-over from the previous winter and began our campaign hopefully enough; but the winter rains were very late. The Arabs of the neighborhood drank their own cisterns dry and then started on ours. It was soon evident that we would have to suspend operations until the rains filled the cisterns again.

### Auja

IN THE NEXT valley, twenty miles by road from Sbeita, lies Auja el-Hafir, a Byzantine site which no one had even remotely considered digging. Up to 1914 the town was virtually intact, but during World War I the Turks built a railroad spur down to Auja and made it the main supply base for their abortive attempt to take the Suez canal. In order to get materials to construct the barracks and storehouses required for this mission, they razed the entire ancient town in the valley and practically all the great Byzantine fortress on the hill which overlooks it (FIGURE 3: FRONTISPIECE). It seemed quite certain that only a miracle would produce scientific results from the hapless wreckage; qualified critics had in fact declared it the worst site in the whole region.

However, it stood astride the high road and it had two wells in good flow; some of the Turkish army's buildings were standing and the Palestine government had installed a police post there. With housing and water assured, we accepted a *mariage de convenance*, packed up our possessions, locked the door on Sbeita, and moved to Auja, intending to move back to Sbeita again as soon as the rains made it possible. I had already obtained permission from the authorities at Beersheba to use as many empty buildings at Auja as we needed,

and we took over part of the police post—our stores were locked up stoutly in the jail—and one of the former Turkish government buildings. This was in December 1935.

On the citadel of Auja had stood a powerful fortress (FIGURE 4), a small church connected with the fortress, and a larger church standing isolated to the south. The Turks had leveled the town in the valley so thoroughly that practically no traces remained. On the hilltop they had also done tremendous damage in quest of good building material, not only for their constructions in the plain but also for a government house which they built within the fort; they had removed the South Church down to the existing surface of the ground, about two feet above the pavement level, and the fort and North Church had suffered even worse, as they were cleared down to the pavement itself.

Between the North Church and the fort, however, there remained a mound some 25 feet wide and 15 feet high, running the full width of the hill, which for some reason unknown the Turks had not seen fit to remove. This offered us the possibility of finding some rooms more or less intact, and of completing the ground plan of the complex surrounding the North Church. We marshalled our forces—our whole labor gang from Sbeita had tucked up their skirts and moved over to Auja

FIGURE 1. SBEITA: GENERAL VIEW OF THE EXCAVATIONS OF THE CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE (NORTH CHURCH) AND ADJOINING MONASTERY, LATE SIXTH CENTURY A.D.





FIGURE 2. SBEITA: EXCAVATIONS IN PROGRESS IN THE RUINS OF THE SOUTH CHURCH, SIXTH CENTURY A.D.

with us—and attacked the untouched mound from both ends at once, while smaller squads began clearing what was left of the two churches.

The churches, badly battered as they were, none the less yielded interesting and even important ground plans. The South Church is dated, by an inscribed capital, to the year 601-2 A.D., and we were ultimately to learn that it was dedicated to the Holy Mother of God. The North Church was not so obliging as to yield its precise date, but it can be ascribed to the fifth century and we have now found that it was dedicated to Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, and popularly referred to as "the Holy Church of the Camp."

In the meantime, work was progressing on the untouched mound south of the North Church. This proved to conceal a row of five square rooms (FIGURE 5), their walls preserved to the height of one story, facing a long, narrow courtyard. These we dug, finding little or nothing until we reached the central room (FIGURE 6); near the bottom of the fill in that room we came upon remains of palm-leaf thatching from the original roof, and beneath

that, lying on the ancient floor, a large deposit of papyrus documents in Greek, Latin, Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic.

At the instant of discovery it happened that no member of the staff was at the scene. I myself was on another part of the mound and the first news I had was when an Arab boy came plunging down the hill toward me, excitedly waving a large sheet of papyrus, from which the breeze was whipping a flutter of small fragments.

I suppose we shall never get over the shock of that splendid discovery. Papyri, as you well know, are not found outside of Egypt, except for the unique discoveries at Dura-Europos and Herculaneum; certainly the climate of Palestine would appear to prohibit their preservation except under the most extraordinary sequence of circumstances—such a sequence as culminated at Auja in the failure of the Turks, who swept clean the whole rest of the mound in 1915, to violate this last twenty-five-foot strip.

### Housekeeping

IT WAS OBVIOUS at once that these priceless



papers had to be removed to a place of safety as fast as possible, and it was equally obvious that we had at hand no orthodox means of preserving the one class of objects we had least expected to find.

It was the rainy season, but now we were glad that there was no threat of rain. I packed my German chauffeur into the camp truck and sent him headlong into Jerusalem to bring back all the cardboard boxes he could find. He returned the following noon with thirty or forty shoe boxes and we set grimly about the unnerving task of lifting the precious rolls and scattered fragments into this improvised but effective means of safe removal. Back at the camp I unrolled two of the better-preserved rolls, but soon realized that the work must be done under laboratory conditions.

The whole collection was accordingly packed for overseas shipment, the Palestine government very obligingly granted authorization to export them for cleaning, study and publication, and I brought them via London to New York, where after cleaning them I placed them at the disposal of Professor Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., of New York University, who has supervised the preparation, by a group of colleagues, of their formal publication.

They were found to consist of several hundred complete or fragmentary texts and a large number of small fragments. About 150 are complete enough to yield significant information. Together they constitute a most unexpected fount of hitherto unrecorded data on the social and economic history of the fron-

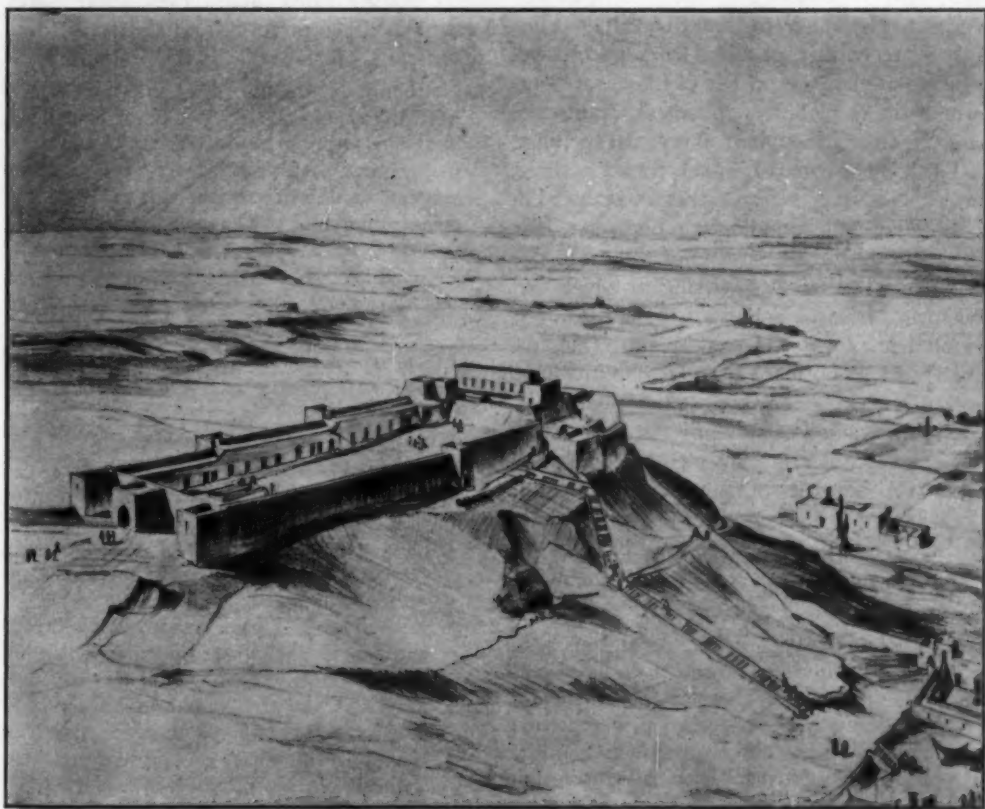


FIGURE 4. AUJA: WELBURY KENDALL'S RECONSTRUCTION OF THE BYZANTINE FORTRESS AND THE NORTH CHURCH, AT THE NORTH END OF THE TELL.

tier between the Roman and Arab worlds in the 4th-8th centuries A.D.

There are, first of all, several dozen pieces dealing with the normal activities of a settled community. Men die, and make wills leaving their property to their children, or contracts dealing with inheritances; there are transfers and divisions of real estate, sales of agricultural products, and poll and various other taxes. In one case the taxes became excessive and twenty citizens of Nessana, Sobata and other towns organized a protest; they journeyed together to the capital at Gaza and visited the provincial governor to make their protest in person. One of them writes to a friend: "Note, therefore, that tomorrow, Monday, we shall be in Gaza. There are twenty of us. Will you too please hurry (?) quickly so that all of us may be of one mind and of one accord? After you have read the present letter, send it to Nesana. We wrote to Sobata." This is the letter which we found at Auja, and we prize it especially because it yields the ancient form of the name Sbeita and also contains the name Nesana, although in an unusual spelling.

The ancient name of Auja is found in three forms, Nessana, Nesana and Nestana. Of these, Nestana is found only in one very early document and in documents of the Arab period; almost all scribes writing in Greek use the form Nessana, and we have accordingly adopted it as the preferred spelling. Nesana appears to be no more than an illiterate version of Nessana.

Other texts tell of unhappiness. In 689 A.D. one couple could no longer endure the privileges and courtesies of married life, and summoned seven witnesses, three of them officials of the Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, to subscribe their names to the agreement of divorce:

John son of Wael, presbyter, and his wife Nonna, daughter of John son of Kotemos, and with her her mother Thekemis, brought us together. Between them many griefs were stirred and arguments presented concerning points at issue. We, the aforementioned men, all remained in order that they might have witnesses and we argued with them at length to be reconciled with each other, but they were not deterred.

The then said presbyter John said to his wife:

"I am giving you your choice. If you want a judge—whether you want someone from our village, or anyone anywhere—I will take one with you."

Then the said Nonna and her mother replied, saying: "We want nothing from you. We are not taking anyone (as judge) with you. We have not taken from you anything whatsoever, either from the dowry or from any other thing whatsoever, movable or self-moving. Only release me."

Then the said John replied in the presence of us the aforementioned men: "You are released. We have no claim against each other."

To these facts we, the aforementioned men, bear witness before God.

This divorce agreement contains a formal renunciation by Nonna and her mother of Nonna's dowry, and waives all property claims; however, to make the property settlement doubly sure, their renunciation is repeated in different form, and the scribe and witnesses then sign:

Neither I, Nonna, nor my heirs, nor assigns have any claim against you John or your heirs or assigns either in the matter of the dowry or in any other matter whatsoever, great or small, written or unwritten, come to mind or not come to mind.

*Written in the month of Gorpaios, 3rd indiction, year 584 according to the era of Elusa, by the hand of me, Sergius son of George, and I bear witness*

- I, Sergius son of George, humble presbyter of God, was present and bear witness to the above
- I, George son of Victor, humble archdeacon of God, was present and bear witness
- I, Sergius son of Palladios, humble deacon of God, was present and bear witness
- I, John, son of Stephen son of Azzaiath, was present and bear witness to the above together with my friends
- I, Stephen son of Ubaid, was present and bear witness to the above together with my friends
- I, Zacharias son of George, was present and bear witness together with my friends
- I, George son of Elias, was present and bear witness.<sup>1</sup>

The papyri span the period of Arab conquest in the seventh century, and after it we find the Arabs, new possessors of an empire

but ignorant of imperial machinery, taking over the Byzantine forms and a host of Greek officials who understood them. For a generation or more these officials are left to operate along established lines, and occasional texts reveal that little change in routine had taken place, as when an Arab, wishing to make the journey through the wilderness to the Holy Mountain (Mt. Sinai), writes to Nessana to demand that guides be held in readiness for his desert pilgrimage.

As the Arabs train their own functionaries these gradually replace the Greeks in office. Among the interesting examples of this period of transition are a group of bilingual *entagia*, official orders of the Arab governor, beautifully written both in Greek and Arabic, peremptorily commanding the Nessanites to furnish requisitions of wheat and oil:

In the name of God: Al-Harith b. 'Abd to the people of Nestana in the region of Elusa, province of Gaza. Pay quickly to 'Adil b. Khalid of the Bani Sa'd b. Malik for the 5 months Dhu'l-ka'dah and Al-Muharram and Safar and the two Rabi's seventy *modii* of wheat, seventy *sextarii* of oil. Written in the month of November of the 3rd indiction, year 54 according to the Arabs, by the hand of

Alexander son of Ammonius. Total: 70 *modii* of wheat, 70 *sextarii* of oil.<sup>2</sup>

After this period all initiative is lost and the records from Nessana cease.

### Literary Texts

THE PAPYRI we have been discussing concern historical, economic and social matters. The deposit also contained a smaller but highly interesting quota of literary papyri. For instance, we have parts of three seventh-century codex manuscripts of the New Testament; the largest consists of forty consecutive pages from the end of the Gospel According to St. John, the second is in many fragments, from various parts of St. John, and the third consists of fragments from the Pauline epistles.

Another is a single papyrus sheet containing the apocryphal Letter from Abgar, King of Edessa, requesting Christ's aid to cure an illness, followed by the putative reply from Christ, saying that he cannot come himself but will send a disciple. This was previously known in several versions, both long and short; our papyrus, dated by the scribe's "hand" to the sixth century A.D., is the earliest manuscript of the longer version.

FIGURE 5. AUJA: ARCHED DOORWAY IN NORTH CHURCH COMPLEX.



About twenty complete pages have survived from a seventh-century codex of the anonymous Acts of St. George of Lydda. The whole text was previously known, but for certain parts our Ms is the earliest extant. The famous dragon story, by the way, does not appear in this or in any other of the early versions.

A seventh-century papyrus codex of thirty-odd pages, still bound together, contains, on pages 1-22, a Greek dictionary: an alphabetical glossary of difficult Greek terms, with Greek definitions in parallel columns, complete from alpha to omega. Similar glossaries have been encountered in Egypt, but no exact parallels; in the selection of terms and definitions this one is unique. The balance of the codex, beginning at page 23, contains the twelve anathemata against the Monophysites, formerly ascribed to St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, copied by the same hand as the glossary.

This cross-section of the Early Christian reading of the inhabitants of Nessana hardly prepared us for what loom as the biggest discoveries—a text of the Aeneid and a Vergil-Greek lexicon. Series of fragments from thirty or more pages of a codex of the Aeneid, representing books 2 to 6, have survived; the text is conventional enough and provides no sensational emendations, but the copying is clean and fairly accurate, the mark of a competent scribe.

And finally, we found thirty-two complete codex pages, plus numerous fragments, dated to the sixth century, from a dictionary to the Aeneid: Latin and Greek words in parallel columns, like the Greek dictionary we spoke of above. What we have are parts of books 1 and 2, translated word for word, and part of book 4, in which the lexicographer chose for translation selected words only. Similar glossaries have been found in Egypt, so this dis-



FIGURE 6. AUJA: ROOMS FACING THE SOUTH COURTYARD OF THE NORTH CHURCH; THE FAMOUS NESSANA PAPYRI WERE FOUND IN THE CENTRAL ROOM AT THE REAR.



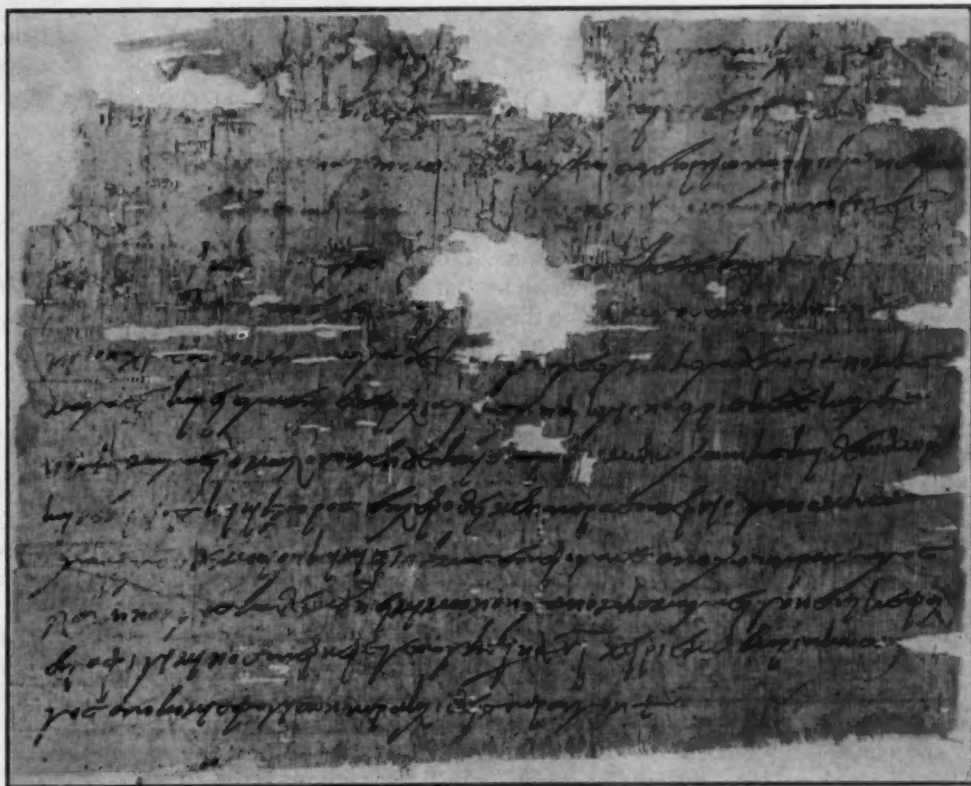


FIGURE 7. AUJA: P. NESS. INV. NO. 13, A TYPICAL SIXTH-CENTURY TAX RECEIPT, IN WHICH THE COLLECTORS ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THEY HAVE RECEIVED FROM ONE SERGIOS THE SUM OF SIX SOLIDI FOR PUBLIC TAXES AND ADD A REMINDER THAT HE STILL OWES SIX SOLIDI FOR POLL TAXES.

covery is not unique, and it is not considered likely that it was compiled at Nessana, but, like all the other documents, it may have been copied locally from an original borrowed for the occasion.

These last two codices provide an unexpected insight into the reading of a Byzantine city on the Arab frontier in the sixth and seventh centuries after Christ. The religious texts need cause no wonder, but what is Vergil doing in a library which appears ignorant of Plato and Euripides? Did Nessana have a cell of sympathizers with the Western Empire, and had Vergil, from his role of prophet of the Messiah, grown to be a spokesman of Roman Christianity? Or had one of the towns-

men studied Latin in some metropolitan college, and clung to his schoolbooks in his provincial retreat? Or did one of the priests of the North Church run a school for the children of his parish, and was Vergil the textbook of Latin? The problem is not vital, but the presence of this one Latin poet, from all the secular writers of Greece and Rome, is intriguing. Who read Vergil in the Wilderness of Zin?

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Published by Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., and Naphtali Lewis, "A Divorce Agreement from Southern Palestine," *TAPA*, 69 (1938) 117-133.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Harold Idris Bell, "The Arabic Bilingual Entagion," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 89 (1945) 531-542.

## —Education

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LATIN TEACHERS NOW<sup>1</sup>*Norman T. Pratt, Jr.**Indiana University*

THE WAR has given tremendous impetus to the forces of scientific research and technological ingenuity. The horizon of this activity appears virtually unlimited in a contracting world where technological advancement is essential for security and survival. This development is, of course, not a new one. Actually, if one searches into its roots, the truth is that technology, as the practical application of science, is an offshoot of the physical philosophy formulated by classical Greek and Latin thinkers. Time plays such queer tricks.

In other words, the atomic bomb and the other newly discovered instruments of destruction have been coming into being for a very long time. Their appearance, accelerated by the war, is really no occasion for surprise. Their appearance has, however, put into shrieking red headlines some very, very basic questions. Perhaps we shall even profit from the fact that people have been frightened into thinking about how technology can be made to work in a world of men. There is an immediate incentive to discover how our young people can be prepared best to live in a world which is so complex mechanically, socially, and intellectually. Intelligent people everywhere are asking how our young people can be prepared best to assume a position of responsibility in a world where men must succeed in living together if they are to survive. The whole future hinges upon the answers to these questions.

We all probably agree that the student must be schooled in those mechanical and social aspects of modern living in which he

cannot be trained adequately outside school. But to think that the student, whether of high school or of college, is adequately prepared for the future if he leaves school rubber-stamped to be a member of a ready-made superficial social pattern, to think this is to think of building a house upon the foundation of a cream puff.

The simple and inescapable fact is this: if the purpose of preparing the student for living his own life and for assuming a place in a world like this is to be a real objective rather than merely educational pretense and cant, the student simply must have the opportunity and the stimulus to develop what powers he has for imaginative, disciplined thought and understanding. It is the unique value of Latin and the other liberal studies that they provide this opportunity and this stimulus.

This phrase "Latin and the other liberal studies" is very important. It points to the fact that the basic issue concerning the American curriculum is larger and more significant than the question of what place Latin should have, or for that matter any individual subject. The issue is rather: what places are to be assigned to the liberal studies and to the mechanical studies? The curriculum must be framed so that the value of the liberal studies can be made effective as the basic intellectual force in the whole complex process of education. To understand this problem and solve it demands real educational vision. In the face of the looming future of technology, it must be understood that preparation for the intelligent use of technology can be made only through the values which are the property of liberal studies. There won't be time to make many mistakes on this question.

For the realization of this objective, we

## NOTE

<sup>1</sup> This is the gist of remarks made before the Classical Subsection of the Indiana State Teachers Association, October 24, 1946.

*Do we really know the Romans?  
Their inner lives, their true selves, escape us.*

## What We Don't Know About the Romans

Walter A. Edwards

STUDENTS of the classics naturally feel well acquainted with the ancient Romans. To say nothing of other sources of information we have received from them a voluminous literature, in which their ideals and their practice in most fields of human activity are rather fully revealed. Even the habits of daily life in old Rome are often brought so vividly before our minds as we read, that we cannot think of these people as strangers. In so many respects they are not different from moderns, and where they seem to differ we think we can explain the difference. And this easy assumption of acquaintance continues until we unexpectedly come upon a field which we have never explored and in which we find no guide. You see, we have been unaware of the extent of our ignorance. We have failed to observe that there are considerable areas in ancient life in regard to which we are without definite knowledge.

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(Walter A. Edwards was born in Normal, Illinois, in 1862. He holds the A.M. and LL.D. from Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois. From 1886 to 1889 he studied in Germany. He was principal of Rockford (Illinois) High School from 1891 to 1895. From 1897 to 1907 he was President of Throop Institute, later California Institute of Technology. From 1907 to 1939 he was head of the Department of Foreign Languages, Los Angeles High School, and in 1939 he retired from active work. He has written a number of books and articles, among them two novels.

The point that Mr. Edwards makes here is that the accepted and familiar are seldom noticed by writers. As Frederick M. Combellack suggested in our February 1946 issue ("Achilles—Bare of Foot?"), one would have difficulty in determining from modern American novels whether men took their hats off in the house or not—the custom is taken for granted.

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The fact is, that the sources of our information often fail us. Even those Roman writers to whom we most confidently look for enlightenment have been regrettably derelict. Casar, for instance, seems to have imagined that he was writing for Romans of his own day, who might fairly be presumed to bring to their reading of his *Commentaries* some familiarity with Roman customs. He makes no allowance for the woeful ignorance of all things Roman characteristic of the 20th century school-boy who thumbs his pages. There are so many interesting things he might easily have told us which he passes over in silence. For instance, what provision was made in a Roman army for the care of the wounded? What relaxation and sports did his men enjoy? What were the Gallic houses like? How much of the Gallic language did he pick up in the course of his campaigns?

If some of these questions seem beneath the dignity of history, I might call attention to other matters of unquestioned importance of which he makes scant mention. How could a man whose story runs to about two hundred pages give us a definite date with month and day only twice (1. 6, 7)? How could he write that long seventh book, the narrative beginning in January and ending in the fall, and indicate the time of the year of the important events only by such vague phrases as "the severest time of the year," "the winter being almost over," etc. (7. 8, 14, 32)? Why doesn't he tell us definitely the number of men in his army? He speaks of making forced marches, but only once (5. 47) does he tell us the exact distance he marched in a given day. He tells us the distance along the coast of Britain which he sailed, but neglects to say in which

direction (4. 23). We are grateful to him for the invaluable summary of Gallic and German customs (6. 11-24); his account of Britain and its inhabitants (4. 33; 5. 12-14), while involving some errors, is welcome; and the description of the remarkable fauna in the Hercynian forest (6. 26-28) is delicious. But there are many other matters on which we could wish that he had shed more light.

And if this is true of Caesar and certain details of his story, it is at least equally true of the whole volume of Latin literature as a record of Roman life. I shall mention only a few omissions that seem to me most important.

### *The Psychology of Slavery*

AND FIRST, as to slavery. It is well known that a large proportion of the population of ancient Italy was composed of slaves. Now many of these slaves were intelligent, high-minded, self-respecting. In the comedies of Plautus and Terence they often exercise a decisive influence in the development of the plot. Many of them had been free, had been born and had grown up in a state of freedom, at least not in slavery. The question arises, how could such a person adjust himself to the conditions of slavery, accept for himself the status of a thing, submit his own will, his right of self-direction, to the whim of another, lose all initiative, endure all indignities and suffer all cruelties? We may well ask this question, but we shall search Latin literature in vain for an answer. Nay, more, this question apparently never occurred to the ancient Roman. He had absolutely no curiosity as to the mental attitude of his slave. He never speculated as to what was passing in the mind of that slave. Or at any rate he has left no evidence that he so speculated. There was among the Romans no Dickens, no John Steinbeck, to pry into the souls of the lowly and insignificant and set forth his findings before the gaze of the world.

I am not saying that the Roman had no kindly feeling for his slave. The heartless indifference which must have prevailed so often between master and slave is indeed illustrated by the cold-blooded rule formulated

by Cato that sick and aging slaves should be sold to save the expense of caring for them. And two letters of Cicero (*Fam.* 13. 77; *Q. Frat.* 1. 2. 14) are extant in which he inquires after runaway slaves with the implication that a severe punishment awaits them if caught. But on the other hand we know of the respect and affection exhibited by that same Cicero toward Tiro, as recorded in the letters of Book xvi ad Familiares. Moreover a letter of Pliny (8. 16) testifies to his concern for suffering members of his household. And there is other evidence, if we needed it, that the Romans were capable of real affection for their slaves. But this is aside from the point. What I am urging is the undoubted fact that no Roman offers us any help when we try to determine the meaning of slavery to its victims.

### *Young Men and Women*

TO PASS to another less painful topic: we get very little direct information in Latin literature about the social relations existing between young men and young women. There must have been some sort of association. For we can hardly conceive of a community in which young people of opposite sexes never meet, never say a word to one another, never have an opportunity of exchanging ideas of interest to the young. We know of course that the freedom of the Roman girl of good family was considerably restricted, that is, from the modern point of view, but we cannot doubt that some sort of social life was permitted her. To be sure, whatever social life was permitted her could be only short-lived. Commonly in her fourteenth year she was married to a husband picked out for her by her father, and then she began the staid, restrained life of a Roman matron. Whatever love there was between husband and wife was the result, not the cause, of marriage. We have however very little information as to the character of such social life as had been permitted her before her marriage. I think I am right in saying that the only social function common in ancient Rome of which we have any account is the formal banquet. So far as the records go Ro-



mans never got together for social intercourse except around the dining table. We read absolutely nothing of other social gatherings. Receptions, parties, evening calls, dances, picnics, church sociables, buggy rides—the scores of devices we have developed in order to enable young people to get together—all unknown in Rome, so far as the record goes. Here again we are at liberty to guess at some form of social activity, but we get no help from Livy and Tacitus, nor from Cicero and Pliny.

### Babies and Children

WHAT WERE Roman babies and children like? We know there must have been such, for grown-up Romans necessarily presuppose babies. But they play a very meagre role in the books. The record is not absolutely blank. Catullus has a charming picture of baby Torquatus "in its mother's arms reaching out his little hands to his father and smiling sweetly with half-open lips." (61. 216-220). And in Vergil, *Eclogue* 4. 60-64, we see the mother smiling on her baby. In Ovid's story of Daedalus and Icarus (*Meta.* 8. 195-200) the picture of the heedless boy hampering his father's work while he chases the floating feathers and softens the wax with his fingers is that of a real boy. But in the *Aeneid* we get no consistent picture of Ascanius. In Book 1, verses 715 ff., Cupid in the guise of Ascanius is a little child, nestling in the arms of Dido; but in Book 5. 548 ff., Ascanius marshals the Trojan youth in their cavalry evolutions, a task for a youth well along in his teens. Again the dolls and other playthings which within the last century have emerged from their long entombment at Pompeii speak to us convincingly of a real child life in Roman homes. On the other hand, the pathetic picture which Pliny draws (5. 16) of the fourteen-year-old daughter of Fundanus, called away by a sudden death, depicts not a child but a young woman on the threshold of matrimony. And young Papirius, of whom Aulus Gellius tells us (1. 23), who heard the debate in the senate and evaded his mother's insistent curiosity by a shrewd fib, is no child but a prospective citizen. And in fact, the Roman seems to

have been interested in his children not as children but as the raw material out of which the citizen would be made. We cannot, for instance, imagine a Roman writing to his children such letters as Theodore Roosevelt wrote to his children; still less can we imagine a Roman publishing them. The pre-Raphaelite painters in Italy introduced into their pictures not real babies and children, with the physical proportions and naive expressions of infants, but diminutive men and women. Even so the Roman saw in the baby the man that was to be.

### The Woman's World

WHAT DO WE KNOW of the Roman matron's outlook on life, of her submission and her rebellion, of her ideals and ambitions, of her estimate of life and its values? She herself has told us practically nothing. In fact, aside from a few love poems ascribed to Sulpicia (Tibullus 4. 8-12), I know of nothing written by a woman which has come down to us except two extracts from letters of Cornelia to her younger son Gaius Gracchus, which are found among the fragments of Cornelius Nepos. The genuineness of these letters has been questioned, but without good reason. For, as Teuffel says, no rhetorician could ever "have succeeded in so combining the manly energy of an old Roman with a woman's tenderness and carelessness of style." Moreover we have both Cicero's testimony (*Brutus* 58. 211) and that of Quintilian (1. 1. 6) that Cornelia's letters were known and read in their day. Let me quote a few sentences from these letters, in which the mother upbraids her son for his seditious activity in politics:

"You say it is a noble thing to take vengeance on your enemies: to no one does that seem greater and nobler than to me—but only provided that the republic suffers no harm.—No enemy, except those who murdered Tiberius Gracchus, has caused me so much pain, so much grief, as have you, and yet you ought to take the place of those children whom I have lost and to see to it that in my old age I am free from anxiety. Surely the little time I have still to live is not so long that you must so hasten to defy my wishes and overthrow

the republic. Wait till I am gone. Then seek the tribuneship, if you must, when I shall no longer know."

As I have said, this is almost the only instance in which we hear the voice of a Roman woman herself. For the most part in seeking to know her mind we have to rely on hearsay. We are limited to the report of her by father, brother, husband, or other disapproving male critic. It must be admitted that the material thus offered is not exactly scanty, though we cannot accept it all at its face value. Cato's severe arraignment of the contentious women of his day (Livy 34. 2) we discount somewhat, though we see in Quintus Cicero's wife Pomponia the vixen her brother-in-law makes her out to be (*ad Att.* 5. 1). Further we have Pliny's affectionate letters to his child-wife Calpurnia (6. 4 and 7; 7. 5) and another about her to her aunt (4. 19); but we do not know Calpurnia as we do her husband. And even Cicero's Tulliola is little better than a stranger to us. A more detailed tribute to a woman is found in the inscription on the tomb of Turia, in which her husband, Quintus Lucretius Vespillo, seeks to set forth what she meant in his life. This inscription was given to the world by Mommsen in 1863. I think it is evident that in all this we have only the testimony of others; we have no self-revelation on the part of the Roman matron herself.

### *The Roman's Soul*

WHAT SENSE did the Roman have of religion as a real influence in his inner life? What significance in his own soul did the sacred ceremonials have? Was religion wholly an external matter, maintained by the state, in which the individual was concerned only as one of that state? Did the individual possess, so to speak, only an undivided share in this religion? I think that some such conception as this is the usual present-day interpretation put upon the religion of most ancient peoples. The Hebrew indeed had a sense of his personal relationship with his God, and Christianity makes the consciousness of the divine in the human heart a central point of its teaching. But we fail to find this in most ancient religions. The Stoics indeed do seem

to have had some conception of the bearing of religion upon the soul and upon the cultivation of virtue. Seneca (*Ep.* 41.1) says: "God is near you, with you, within you." And in Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations* (3.5) we read: "Let the God that is in thee be lord of a living creature, that is manly, of full age, and a Roman."

In what I have said I have tried to avoid drawing unjustified conclusions. I have merely pointed out certain lacunae in the volume of information which has come down to us from ancient Rome. Our conclusions on the topics I have discussed must be largely negative. The most we can say is that we find no evidence on that particular subject in Latin literature, and we must therefore adopt the old Scotch verdict, "Not proven." It is an unsound procedure to conclude that a thing was unknown to the Romans merely because no mention of it occurs in the books they have left us; and for two reasons.

In the first place, we possess only a fraction of the total literary output of old Rome. Much has perished. Moreover the selection by fate of the books to be preserved seems often to have been purely haphazard. It is far from the truth to say that most of the books of permanent value have been preserved, and that those that have been lost can well be spared. This being the case, how can we be sure that we shall find in these existing books all that was significant and essential in Roman life? Who can assure us that nothing necessary to a true understanding of ancient life has been lost?

### *What We Have Lost*

FURTHERMORE, we must consider what kind of literature has come down to us. We cannot be surprised if we find but few references to the intimate relations of life in the formal and dignified writings available, in histories, orations, philosophical discussions and discourses upon literary and rhetorical subjects, in epic and didactic poetry. On the other hand, we may easily conceive that if the Romans had written for our edification novels, life-stories, confessions, social workers' reports, studies of contemporary life, sermons,

newspaper gossip, we might know more about them than we do now. It is true that some of the revelations of the kind we are looking for occur in certain letters of Cicero and Pliny, in several of Horace's lyrics and satires, in poems by Catullus and Ovid, and in the so-called Vergilian Appendix. But these, as I have tried to show, are very limited in their scope and often fail us just when they seem about to make the long wished-for revelations.

We might have learned much from the *fabulae togatae* of Titinius, Atta and Afranius, comedies based, unlike those of Plautus and Terence, upon Roman life, but they have all perished. We are told that they represented upon the stage life in the small Italian towns, being thus the forerunners of the Main Street of our day. They were genuinely Roman, or at least Italian, and doubtless pictured faithfully the manner of life and the ways of thinking characteristic of those primitive communities. The total loss of the *fabulae togatae* is a great misfortune.

But is this silence of the books to be attributed so largely to chance? Even if we had in our hands today all that the Romans ever wrote, we might still find that they had left us uninformed on many details of their daily life and their inmost thoughts. We cannot assume that a people will necessarily tell in their literature all that they know. Perhaps the Romans, practical, unimaginative, not given to introspection as we moderns are, were hardly capable of giving the detailed self-analysis that we demand. And perhaps they would not have chosen to do so if they

had been able. We must not judge the reticence of other people by our own lack of it. With us every man's house, indeed, is his castle, not to be desecrated without due process of law. But the inmost recesses of his soul may be explored and its secrets exhibited to a curious world by any professed psychiatrist or biographer. The Roman may have been held back by a kind of reverence from intruding upon the privacy of the soul of another; and his disinclination to parade before the public the inmost secrets of his own heart may well command our respect.

However, even if we find areas of ancient life in regard to which the old writers give us little direct and explicit information, we are not to think of such areas as wholly lost. There is a means by which the truth may be discovered, although in vague and general lines only. By the effort of a correctly informed and truly sympathetic imagination a gifted writer, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the ancients, may venture to recreate for us phases of ancient life and may achieve a large measure of success. We cannot assume that the picture thus painted for us is true in minute details, but we can believe that it gives a true impression of the tone and spirit of ancient society. Most people feel the essential truth of Bulwer-Lytton's *Last Days of Pompeii* and of W. S. Davis's *A Friend of Caesar* and of certain more recent novels based on classical themes. Genius guided by careful research and a quick sympathy may enter these unknown fields not without some hope of success.

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"THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LATIN TEACHERS NOW"  
(Continued from Page 324)

teachers of Latin have a distinctive contribution to make. Now we are all weary of making a defence of Latin. And there is no reason to be on the defensive. As a matter of fact, some serious, though natural, mistakes have been made because we have allowed ourselves to be forced into an apologetic role. Like the proponents of other subjects in popular disfavor, we have sought to make Latin attractive in superficial ways; we have argued that

a thorough preparation in Latin is a useful tool for this other field or for that other function. Some of this is true, some not. Some of this is important, some not. One result of all this apologetic activity has been to obscure the distinctive value of Latin as a liberal study. We have a very strong case upon which to take our stand.

To review our case, we may take the example of a student who is ready to begin read-

ing in the *Aeneid*. I have chosen this example because especially in the case of foreign languages the full value of the subject cannot be realized in the elementary stage of study. The previous two or three years of Latin taken by this student have involved some serious study of substantial material. As a language, Latin is systematic and relatively complex. It developed fully as a medium of especially clear, precise, and imaginative expression. Study of Latin therefore strongly calls into play such faculties as power of logic, understanding of language-structure, and the ability to express thought with clarity and precision. Moreover, the historical relationship of Latin to other languages makes this study a basic linguistic training which is applicable to a variety of linguistic areas including command of English vocabulary, study of other foreign languages, and advanced linguistic study.

What is more, in these two or three years of Latin this student has worked with important historical and literary materials. (I may remark, by the way, that there is considerable room for improving the quality of the materials through which the student learns Latin.) And now he is ready to begin reading Vergil. It is not possible here to show fully the potential effects of studying such great poetry as the *Aeneid*. However, we can consider briefly the kind of experience which the *Aeneid* contains for its readers.

It is usually said that the purpose of the *Aeneid* is to glorify Rome and Augustus. If this statement were adequate, the *Aeneid* would not be the great epic which it actually is. The mission of Aeneas is not presented merely as the job of accomplishing what is dictated by Fate and divine will. There is a much larger perspective than this. His mission involves a tremendous amount of human experience. There are many demands upon

Aeneas. His *pietas* is the feeling of obligation as a responsible man to perform his duty toward his wife, son, father, to his companions, to the future, and to his gods. In undertaking these responsibilities, there is much which he has to meet with courage and understanding.

Vergil gives deep significance to the experience of other figures in the *Aeneid* also. The episode of Dido's tragic death is well known to us all. Throughout the account of the war in the last six books, there is emphasis upon the waste of human personality caused by war. At the end of the epic we are made to feel that with the death of Turnus something vital and strong has been lost. The whole *Aeneid* expresses a deeply thoughtful view of human life in full scale. At least something of this thought can be communicated to the student.

These are some of the most valuable forces which our subject exercises. If I may give another toss to the term "practical" which is so freely tossed about in educational discussions, it may be said that these values of our subject are practical in a very important, primary sense: that is, they contribute fundamentally to the objective of imaginative, disciplined thought and understanding.

In looking to the future of our work, the most essential thing of all is that we take our stand upon these basic values of Latin-study, and do our utmost to make them effective in our teaching. There are many in educational circles everywhere who realize that the question of Latin-study is an issue which involves more than the individual subject Latin. Rather it involves a whole type of education. Our dedication to Latin is really a dedication to a system of education. The future needs this system of education. This is our responsibility.

In April—

## "ROMAN LONDON"

W. F. Grimes

*The ancient city as revealed by bombs.*



# In Praise of The Less Abundant Life

Clyde Murley

A GREAT DEAL has been said for the more abundant life in speech redundant. The etymological suggestion implicit in both adjectives is of the related word inundation, of a river in flood, overflowing its banks rather than flowing safely within them. Let us for this occasion man the dykes and levees. The rainbow has often been used in our time as the symbol of roseate dreams of possession, with a pot of gold at its end. But what it originally meant to Noah was a promise that there should be no recurrence of the more abundant life. "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther. And here shall thy proud waves be stayed."

It occurs to me that what we need worst is less or none of certain things. Subtraction would do us more good than addition. To make the world far better and people far happier, we should not need to add anything at all—rather to take certain things away. We need no war and are homesick for that negative thing peace, which, if available,

would cost nothing at all. No news is good news. It was on the negative veto power of the Roman tribune that the power of the Roman emperor, and later of the American president, was largely based. In many matters the Eternal Nay outvotes the Eternal Yea. A yes-man is generally reputed a bad man, and women preserve their virtue by saying, "No."

## Negative Way to Health

OF REDUCTIONS too, most are desirable; reductions of debts, armaments, taxes, inflammation, weight. Take the body, for example.

### NEGLECTED POSITIVES

ED. NOTE—Probably something is wrong with our filing system; all we know is that somehow the Society for the Rehabilitation of Neglected Positives got mixed up in the correspondence connected with this article. A card from Professor Carl W. Blegen to Professor Murley got mixed up in it, too. Professor Blegen thinks he read about the S.R.N.P. in a book somewhere someplace. At any rate, as Professor Blegen says, the idea [of having such a society] seems thoroughly surd and sane, and if the organization could be made ert under ept and becile officers, it might soon have a considerable ficit to its credit.

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL will be glad to lend its support to this thoroughly cultural project, with the stipulation only that the officers of the society must at all times be couth and kempt in appearance. We are quite dignant about the whole thing.

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(Clyde Murley's study of the Classics has led him to be a practicing Epicurean with Horatian leanings rather than a Stoic—he smiles when he philosophizes, and in his philosophy there is a geniality which comes from *philanthropia*, friendship for individuals as much as for man in the mass.

Professor Murley is a native of Iowa, and a Chicago Ph.D. He is President of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, and has done yeoman work for classical organizations in various capacities. He has twice served as local chairman for Chicago meetings of CAMWS, and his work for the American Classical League would all but defy itemizing.

While his earlier work in the Classics was in Lucretius and in the cults of Cisalpine Gaul, Dr. Murley's interests have also led him into Greek life and letters, and he may best be regarded as a true classicist, *doctus utriusque linguae*.

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In matters of health the processes of elimination are all-important. Hesiod said that the gods had placed sweat before achievement; and Aristotle rated the moral-aesthetic effect of tragedy as *katharsis*. People bathe to secure cleanliness, a negative thing but its implications for the soul were adopted in baptism. Sex on the biological side acts negatively as a release of passion. People have their tonsils and appendices removed. Men throughout the ages have undergone the daily nuisance of shaving and women more recently have bobbed their hair. Public weighing machines carry the facetious inscription, "O that this too, too solid flesh would melt." Women especially are all trying to reduce. They want less of themselves, not more; and fewer chins. Euripides, according to Aristophanes' *Frogs*, boasted that he had slenderized the muse of tragedy. In beauty contests the judges look for the best ordinary girl. The extraordinary girls, the more abundant girls, are engaged for side-shows.

Of clothing the same. David beat Goliath by taking off Saul's armor and Gandhi put the British in a quandary by similar tactics. Health and beauty have been sought as women, discarding layer on layer of nineteenth century clothing, approached the modes of ancient Greece.

### *The Negative Today*

MODERNISTIC architecture and furniture have achieved their improvement by removing ginger-bread work, the rococo, meaningless embellishment. Projections were erased to make streamlined automobiles and locomotives. The recovery of straight and simple lines was a process of subtraction, and the resultant was usually given a Greek name—as Mercury, Zephyr—for a good historical reason. But the car so improved in appearance may go too fast. When the police test it, they test the brakes, but not the motor which may be ever so asthmatic for all they care. For few, other than truck or bus drivers, really need to start a car. But whoever contemplates doing so must first of all be able to stop it or slow it down.

The cosmos is all right. By the conserva-

tion of matter or energy its amount stays put and there is no issue of more or less. Margaret Fuller accepted the universe with Carlyle's grim approval and I am prepared to do the same. But men's excesses are the trouble. People sometimes starve or are cold. But there is enough food and fuel in the world, far too much hate and greed and indolence. Vices are usually excesses of something: avarice, over-eating, lust, anger, "vaulting ambition that o'erleaps itself and falls on others."

An advantage in the subtractions, reductions and omissions here recommended is that the superfluities removed will none of them be missed or require replacement. James Harvey Robinson once asked, "If you get rid of a headache what do you put in its place?" On earth we look forward to temporary omissions called vacations. The priest's cure of souls, like the physician's cure of bodies, is the negation of something—of sin. And finally, what transcendental hope does he hold out? There has been romantic excess in fantastic descriptions of some Heaven, whether of streets of gold or an eternal clam-bake. But what really stirs the wistful aspirations of men and women is the negatives of the Apocalypse, "And there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying."

### *The Syntax of Negatives*

TO COME to the Greeks in particular, if a student well understood Greek negatives and their implications, he would automatically have a good working grasp of the syntax as a whole. He would understand conditional sentences, with separate negatives for condition and conclusion respectively. He would find direct questions beginning with one or the other of the two negatives, according as the answer expected was positive or negative. After words of negative meaning, like prevent and prohibit, he would find in the object clause a negative superfluous from the English viewpoint. He would have  $\mu\eta$  in object clauses after verbs of fearing and, evolving from them, the delicate effect of  $\mu\eta$  in softened assertion and  $\mu\eta$   $\acute{o}\nu$  in softened denial;  $\acute{o}\nu$   $\mu\eta$  with the subjunctive would mean strengthened denial. He would be acquainted with

moods, for there is one negative for facts, actual or contingent, and another for wishful thinking. Participles particular or general according to whether *οἷ* or *μή* is used, and infinitives in and out of indirect discourse—with distinct negatives again—would be in his picture. He would know double negatives as more often cumulative, as in French, than canceling each other. He would understand cautious indirections like "There is not how this is not true," with implication of the alternative, as also in the frequent question form "Is anything else the case than . . . ?" He would note a fondness for "I don't assert" rather than "I assert that it is not." He would be aware of the tendency to give first place in the sentence to an important negative, though the actual verb it negatives may be far on in the second clause.

I am told that Japanese etiquette, requires one to answer a positive statement positively, irrespective of one's actual agreement or disagreement. One must say, "Yes, I don't think you're right," after the manner of the famous locution, "Yes, we have no bananas." But the Greeks in effect did the converse. Like the Frenchman with his *Mais oui*, he introduced prayers and appeals, positive though they were, with *ἄλλὰ*, not infrequently accompanying this with a precautionary low tackle around the knees to impede the half-expected escape of the one solicited. I assume that the usage in both French and Greek arose from a suppressed alternative essentially in the negative. Such is probably the explanation of the Englishman's answer, "Rather." So a Greek seemed often to have a negative in mind even when not using one.

### The Vocabulary of Negatives

IN THE GREEK vocabulary there are very suggestive words beginning with the negative prefix. Many of you will remember from early courses in Latin that idiom, "They were more adjacently absent" (*propius aberant*). Roughly similar is the neutralizing effect of *ἀφθονία*, the lack of a grudging attitude, therefore 'abundance.' Our positive word 'business' was in Greek and Latin both 'absence of leisure,' *ἀσχολία*, *negotium*. The ideal of the Epi-

cureans was *ἀταραξία*, lack of disturbance, "Let not your hearts be troubled"; that of their Stoic rivals, *ἀπαθία*, lack of emotion, *nil admirari*. The two negatives differ only in that the second is more inclusive and drastic. Both groups addressed themselves, as did the Christians, to the problem of how to live successfully in a hostile environment. The verb *μνησικακεῖν* means 'to hold a grudge.' After the grilling years of the Peloponnesian civil war, the Athenian malice toward none found expression in an enactment called the Amnesty. Its etymology means not just a lapse of memory but a deliberate failure to remember. Like Latin *noli* with the infinitive and William James' 'will to believe,' this was their will to forget. Like God, "Who remembereth not the evil."

To take another negative word, the lexicon suggests that the word for truth, *ἀλήθεια*, in its etymology expresses something straightforward, lack of concealment, *nuda veritas*. I should like to think its semantic history justified a translation I borrow from Rupert Brooke—despite a radically different context—"the unforgettable, unforgotten." So much that is erroneous and trivial has been thought by men. But some small residuum of the permanent is left from the experience of the *raec* and this is the unforgotten, the true. But without my questionable semantics, it is still striking that the wisest of all peoples should have expressed truth modestly in the negative. Even so, it amused Plato that Protagoras had dared entitle a treatise of his, "The Truth." Only gods have knowledge, whereas men are philosophers, he says in the *Symposium*; that is, those desirous of knowledge and so impliedly lacking it. In contrast with the Muses, says Homer, "We hear only a rumor and know not anything."

We have *nil* in Latin commonly enough. But how rarely do we find *hilum*, a bit, which it negatives. We have *οὐδείς* and *μηδείς* everywhere in Greek, but try to find *δείς* which it negatives. You must look under *οὐδείς* in the Lexicon for it. You will see it in Democritus, like the present participle *ens* of *esse*, non-existent in classical Latin but artificially constituted by mediaeval philosophers as a sub-

stantive for existence. Even if these words came as negatives of εἰς, as some think, it would seem from the δ that the Greeks had forgotten such origin and felt δέῖς as meaning 'not nothing' rather than that οὐδέῖς and μηδέῖς meant 'not one.' One may compare Latin *nescio quem* or better *non nullus* in the sense of 'someone.'

### Saying More By Less

IN GREEK RHETORIC the favorite emphasis is the emphasis of understatement: *meiosis*, *litotes*, irony. The goddess Calypso goes only so far as to say she is 'not inferior' to Penelope in appearance. Odysseus said to his men before Scylla and Charybdis, "O friends, . . . we are by no means unfamiliar with misfortunes," and Vergil translates this (*Aen.* 1. 198) in the same double negative form. Isaiah wrote of 'a man of sorrows (as the authorized translation runs) acquainted with grief.' But Vergil has Dido say, "Not unacquainted with sorrow, I learn to succour the unfortunate." . . . When Paul said, "Wherefore, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision," he showed that he had been an apt pupil of Homer at the University of Tarsus, with whom οὐδ' ἀνίσθησε is the reaction of Achilles to the heavenly visitant Athene and of many another actor in the poem. But perhaps it is fairer to give Luke, as a Greek, credit for using almost the same idiom as Homer.

Understatement, ironical or otherwise, went to great lengths with the Greeks. Odysseus got out of a tight spot with the Cyclops by claiming to be nobody at all. The most striking character in the modern morality play, *Everywoman*, also bore the name "Nobody." Socrates, finding that most people know too much that isn't true, won a great reputation for wisdom by claiming to know nothing. Εὐφήμεῖ, literally 'speak favorably,' (Eng. *euphemism*) frequently meant 'say nothing'; and it was in this ritual silence that Socrates, after a life-time of discourse, saw fit to die.

I shall now disclose a secret of some twenty-one centuries' standing, how Paris got away with murder in the Trojan episode. When Hector blusters, Paris keeps his temper

and coolly commends the accuracy of his brother's rebuke. But in particular he adds in the sixth book (337 f.), "My wife also, persuading me with soft words, roused me to battle." When we turn back to the third book for the soft words referred to we find these (428 f.) "You have come from the fight. Would that you had perished there, killed by a better man who was my former husband." And more to the same effect. Here, on Paris' part, was understatement put to a practical domestic purpose.

We have often read Cicero's criticism of the Greek terms for a banquet in the *De Senectute*. He says the Roman term *convivium* is better than σὺνδειπνον and συμπόσιον, since it means a living together whereas the Greek terms mean an eating or drinking together. But, apart from the fact that the Greek practice was doubtless on the whole better than the Roman in the matter of moderation in eating and drinking, the Roman term lacks the essentials of a definition in that it excludes practically no one of many forms of human association. But the Greek words state simply the distinctive thing about the gatherings at table. The stark simplicity of Simonides' epigram on those who fell at Thermopylae has often been noted, and others offered in competition with it were probably more ambitious. This is a plain military report, except that no soldier had survived to bear it, "Report to Sparta that we fell here in the line of duty." Before some horrid deed of blood in Greek tragedy, does the chorus in its forebodings speak of crime, sin, blood? Rather, "I dread lest she do something unsuitable, unseemly."

### On Saying Too Much

HESIOD had said, "The half is more than the whole." Through neglect of this maxim after the best period of Greek literature, writers sometimes came to grief. Homer two or three times (*Il.* 5. 302-4, 20. 285-7, 12. 445-9) said of a hero that he seized a stone which two men, such as men are now, could hardly avail to lift. Yet he with ease wielded it alone. The pedant, Apollonius of Rhodes, far removed from war and action, evidently thought that



if two are good four are better, and had Jason grab a stone such as four men could not budge at all and throw it far (3. 1367). The gentle Vergil, not to be outdone, raises the bid. Seeing a boundary stone such as twelve men of our time could hardly raise on their shoulders, Turnus, though in a weakened condition and hardly conscious, sent the monolith hurtling through the air (12. 899). A very ordinary man could lift his own weight, so that this missile must have weighed well over a ton. What began with Homer as a possible contrast between stalwart pioneers and sedentary persons of a later generation is made ridiculous by rhetorical exaggeration. Latin literature in the later periods suffered still more seriously from this elephantiasis.

Oriental art lacked the corrective of the Greek preoccupation with beauty and the suitable. To the Greek the human figure was adequate as it was. But the many-breasted Artemis in the East becomes a caricature. It perhaps should be estimated, with others of its kind, according to its own criteria. Perhaps it is a sort of pictograph with an emphasis on fertility rather than beauty. But the exaggeration is hardly an improvement to us. Commenting on an objection to monogamy on the part of some of his contemporaries, Gilbert Chesterton (*Orthodoxy*, p. 103) writes, "It showed, not an exaggerated sensibility to sex, but a curious insensibility to it. A man is a fool who complains that he cannot enter Eden by five gates at once."

The Scotch are reputed niggardly for the purposes of comic episode by those who cannot see the distinction between meanness and thrift. Of all the peoples I have known I have found them the most generous. If one would read in a little old book, *Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush*, the chapter on "The Cunning Speech of Drumtochty," he would find that their greatest thrift is of words. To the Londoner who called the sunset glorious the Scotchman said in rebuke, "Ye 'ill surely save aye word for the twenty-first of Reevelation."

### *The Cautious Greeks*

THE GREEKS may not have been so quaint about their caution. But they were as much

addicted to it. A passion for accuracy made them prefer to say less rather than more than the truth. For not to speak accurately, said Socrates, "is not only a thing discordant in itself but it infects the soul with evil." In judgment, too, they played safe. Herodotus and Sophocles quote Solon, "Call no man happy until you have seen his last day."

There was a certain scandal in Greek rhetoric, that which indeed was one of the ready-to-hand charges which was apt, says Socrates, to be brought against any disliked member of the *intelligentsia*. It was that of making the weaker appear the stronger reason. That such exaggeration could figure in the charges against a man on trial for his life is eloquent testimony to the prominence in Greek standards of the opposite practice of understatement.

I should not want to defend the negative Megarian logic in its more contentious eristic attitudes. Plato more than once reminds us that what matters is not who but what is right. Yet, while it is hard to disentangle the Platonic Socrates from Plato himself, it is clear that the *Theaetetus* for instance, with Euclides of Megara in the dramatic setting, is very Socratic and it is crowded with significance, dealing mainly, however, with the explanation of false opinion. How can we think the thing that, in Greek idiom, is not? Socrates was more sceptical and even less dogmatic than Plato and, just as critical scholarship leans to the negative side, so the intellectual technic of Socrates may be ultimately more of a contribution to us than many of the positive suggestions of Plato. In a not wholly different way, the non-resistance of Jesus and what we call the Christian spirit is more influential and undebatable than the positive theology of Paul. Institutionalism was largely absent from the teachings of Socrates and of Christ.

Coming again to the theme of the less: the layman, says Plato (*Rep.* 349-50), may try to outdo other laymen or the expert, just as patients naively think that if they take more pills than the physician says or take them more frequently they will improve on his directions. The lay man might try to tighten

or loosen the strings of a lyre beyond what the expert will do. The expert will aim to equal, not excel, the best practice of the experts in his line.

### *Philosophers of More and Less*

THE PHILOSOPHERS have always been divided into two camps, those believing in more things and those in fewer. The apostles of the many, those centrifugal people, Heraclitus, Protagoras, John Dewey, have a multiplicity of particular situations but no substantives. Those who, like Parmenides, Plato and Aristotle, believe in universals, who define, that is limit things, who favor the aristocracy of categories instead of the democracy, the ochlocracy, of an endless string of detached episodes, have made it possible to think and speak by means of limited, fixed values. We could have no vocabularies without them; and relativists cannot state what they mean except in the language and technique of those whom they oppose.

The earliest ethical thought of the Greeks found expression in the familiar Delphic mottoes, "Nothing in excess" and "Know thyself." The first is obviously negative; but the second is only less explicitly so. I am convinced that it meant mainly, "Realize your limitations." In fact, Plato says so in the *Philebus* (48b). The fault in men's souls it aimed to correct, he indicates, was thinking one's-self richer, stronger, handsomer, and especially morally better than one is. In *Herondas* (5. 77 f. Crusius) a mistress says of a slave, οὐκ ὁδὲν ἀνθρώπος ὢν ἐαυτὸν—"He doesn't realize that he is only a human being." In *Charmides* (164b) *sophrosyne* is defined as equivalent to this maxim. It was not so much then in their view that the world was too much with them (though Lucretius later said that) but that they were in danger of thinking themselves too much in the world. Even the Latin word for excess is a negative, *nimis*, or *nimius*. The Greeks approached with caution the topic of abundance. They compromised by calling it in its better aspect an absence of the ungenerous, as indicated above. When stressing the evil side of abundance, Hesiod, Theognis, Pindar and the tragic

poets dwelt on that famous quartette of words: abundance (that is, objective excess), presumption (that is, subjective excess), infatuation, and retribution. Herodotus relates his tales of the too fortunate and the nemesis that threatened or overtook them, and announces that "god does not allow another than himself to think big (7. 10)," to think more highly of himself than he ought to think (*Rom.* 12. 3). It was not so much his eponymous big feet that got Oedipus into trouble, but a swelling at the other end.

The curious thing about this preoccupation with abundance as constituting a danger is that the Greeks were poor and lived simply. With a quaint and arresting juxtaposition, Herodotus once tells us (7. 102) that "the Greeks were brought up with poverty, but virtue is with them an acquisition worked out through wisdom and sturdy custom." Even Livy in his eloquent Preface claims that in no state was honor paid so long to poverty and thrift as in the Roman. It has required the exigency of war and rationing to teach Americans outside New England that thrift is indeed a virtue.

Comedy is a sudden transition from less to more, tragedy a sudden transition from more to less. Whether because, as Aristotle says, comedy involves a deterioration of personality, or because the peripety of tragedy is truer to life, tragedy outranks comedy. Even in football the cry "We want a touchdown" is somehow frivolous compared to the other cry "Hold that line!" A certain dignity descends on men with their backs to the wall, whether football players or Spartans combing their long hair so as to die decently at Thermopylae. Socrates talking over the wine in the *Symposium* can be argued with. But Socrates drinking the hemlock in silence is well-nigh unanswerable.

### *The Realism of Negatives*

ODYSSEUS in Homer has two main epithets, *polymēchanos* and *polytlas*, one positive, the man of many devices, one negative, the much-enduring. But the former when pressed suggests the trickster, the bastard son of Sisyphus. The real greatness of Odysseus is in

his moral resources for enduring, his *morale*. In reply to the warnings of Calypso, he says in part, "And if in turn someone of the gods shall overwhelm me in the wine-dark sea, I shall endure it as having in my breast a spirit patient of sorrow. For already right much have I suffered and labored much among the waves and in war. Let this be added to the sum of that" (5.221 ff.). When St. Paul got his Christian warrior elaborately harnessed for battle with the helmet of salvation, the breastplate of righteousness, and the sword of the spirit, he didn't tell him to charge, but, having done all, to stand.

In the *Iliad* warriors are realistic about valor and do not throw their lives away needlessly in voluntary combat with others plainly much superior. "Beyond his strength may no man fight, however brave he be," says Paris (13. 787). Others are wary about facing a god in disguise. When Menelaus joined the list of those offering to answer the challenge of Hector to a duel, he was told that he was out of his class and was restrained from competing (7. 111). Protagoras, when making concessions to Socrates about the affinities of the several virtues, is disposed to make an exception of courage as being less rational. But Plato suggests in the *Laches* and *Protagoras* a sobering down of courage into a knowledge of what is and what is not to be feared.

We experience two kinds of pleasures: what we ordinarily mean by the word, responses to sensuous stimuli, the *staccato* positive sort of pleasure which has to be renewed constantly and is even so intermittent; and the *legato continuum* of the absence of physical and mental pain. Almost all the philosophers, the fellows who are supposed to understand the ethics of pleasure, favor the negative persistent kind as being more satisfying. And this goes even for the Epicureans, the specialists in pleasure; for it was their definition I gave. Social security has the same negative psychology, *security* meaning absence of worry.

### The Calculus of Pleasure

I ENJOYED my courses in economics and even taught the subject in a small way once.

One of life's anomalies is that the only money I was ever paid for anything I published was for something printed in *The American Economic Review*. One of the phrases that always lingered in my mind from Walker's excellently written textbooks was "the point of diminishing returns in agriculture." It was there explained that there was a point after which further increment of labor and materials, even if it should increase the crops somewhat, would not yield returns commensurate with the additional outlay. Plato said in the *Philebus* (26a) that, there being no intrinsic limit in the nature of pleasure, god applied external law and order to it. Lucretius finds (5. 143 f.) that "the human race did not know what is the limit of possession and in general up to what point true pleasure increases." In our hedonistic calculus, we may call this point the point of diminishing returns in pleasure.

The typical classical virtues are of course negative or restraining: *moderatio*, *temperantia*, *sophrosyne*. I always think a passage in the first book of the *Iliad* a good commentary on this last much discussed word. Achilles says of Agamemnon that he is "all in a turmoil with destructive thoughts" (342), but *sophrosyne* means salutary thinking. There is that fine phrase of the poetic villain, Macbeth. "I dare do all that may become a man. Who dares do more is none." The man who dared do more is called by the bad word *audax* in Latin. What made the Spartans formidable, said Herodotus (7. 104), was that "though free, they are not wholly free, for a moral habit is their master."

Now though our classical good man is to be restrained by *aidōs*, *noblesse oblige*, as Socrates was checked by his *daemon*, which acted, he said, only negatively, he is not to be irrationally restrained by prejudices and superstitions. One of the weird statements in A. B. Cook's *Zeus* is that men have always suffered from two fears, the rational fear of thunder and the irrational fear of twin children. When I quoted this to the late Keith Preston, once my colleague, he opined that, the salary scale considered, the fear of twin children might also be rational. In saner mood than Mr. Cook's, Epicurus and his followers set out to

free men's minds from two cramping fears, the fear of the gods considered as whimsical tyrants and the fear of death. Jesus promised that to know the truth should make men free and Paul has a lot to say about the glorious liberty of the children of God, freed from the law of sin and death. We hear of the emancipation of men's minds in the nineteenth century and such is the often misunderstood significance of the word 'liberal' in the name, college of liberal arts. These are all negative values, whatever their positive implications.

### *The Golden Negative Rule*

SOMETHING has been made of the alleged fact that the Greeks stated the Golden Rule in the negative (but see Shorey's note on *Laws* 913A), "Do not do to others what you would not have them do to you." I think that the difference between the pagan and Christian attitude there is not so drastic as this may suggest. In practical conduct, if it is not to prove quixotic, the Golden Rule for Christians, too, is most important in the negative. The statement of it in Luke 6.31 follows immediately on passive suggestions of turning the other cheek and giving with generosity to him that asks; this rather than starting out aggressively on the Boy Scout policy of doing a daily good deed to someone whether or no.

To be sure, except for the Epicureans, who were evangelistically inclined, the Greeks had not much of the missionary spirit. In fact, they were rather afraid of it. A good man was often called *apragmōn*, which did not mean inactive but rather not intrusive or too forward. The program in Plato's ideal state called for everybody to mind his own business—well. A danger in positive programs of social betterment and planned economy is that they may be ill-conceived and may invade the liberty and privacy of those they would benefit. People subjected to social uplift are not always cordial to it. A friend of mine, a social worker, approaching a house on her visitations in New York, was met by a belligerent-looking dog. "Does your dog bite?" she called to a small girl looking out of the window. Laconic and uncompromising, the child replied, "Not always."

### *Renunciation and Salvation*

SALVATION is a negative conception. When I joined the church I was asked, "Do you renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, etc.?" The greatness of the saints was rather in their renunciations than in their dogmas, many of which would not be acceptable today. Poverty and chastity are in the negative and obedience is passive. So it is still. Our creeds, being largely about God, are affirmations. The same with the beginning of the Lord's Prayer which has to do with God. But when we revert to poignant human living, we lapse into the negative. Forgive us our trespasses (i.e., give a verdict of 'not guilty'). Lead us not into temptation. Deliver us from evil.

The etymology of the Latin word *religio* is in some dispute. But it is commonly connected with *ligare*, to bind, and functionally stands for restraint, a scruple that checks an act. The quaint old Roman calendar was full of such taboos. There was no inclusive Greek word for religion, but, negative again, their word for the realm of the after-life was the Unseen; and the most frequent epithets of the gods distinguished them as immortal.

In Plato, Lucretius, and elsewhere the historical explanation of the origin of government is the wish for immunity from aggression. Lucretius says that men became wearied of living by violence and subject to it and so consented to come under restraining laws. The Ten Commandments and the Twelve Tables of the Roman laws are mainly in the negative, as wholesome government generally acts. The legislative branch forbids many acts, the executive in its police function restrains people and punishes infractions of laws, the judiciary checks injustice. As for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness: the government is not biological and cannot give life; it only promises not to hang us without good cause and to try to keep others from killing us; it agrees, or at least once did, not to interfere too much with our liberty and to keep others from doing so; it cannot give happiness but undertakes to see that our pursuit of it is not hampered. The dictators promise security, the democracies liberty; and both are nega-



tive. This country was founded to escape from excessive and intrusive government. Bureaucratic government tends to go beyond the historical function of government. Anarchy is impracticable, but, as Jefferson said, that government governs best which governs least. Plato said the business of a physician or ruler was to make himself as far as possible unnecessary.

### Negative Child Psychology

WE HAVE BEEN told that in bringing up children parents should avoid the word 'Don't,' plainly a rule devised by the childless. To use a stereotyped and antiquated illustration, instead of saying, "Don't touch the hot stove," we are to say, "Please touch the refrigerator," or "Can't I interest you in the view from the north window?" And so go on fiddling with positives while the child burns.

In progressive education and elsewhere we hear much of self-expression and little of self-denial. Repression is psychologically passé. We are told that the European dictators were out for action for its own sake, the perpetual revolution. They and the extreme proponents of progressive education seem to have adopted the program of the witch bound for Aleppo. "And in a sieve I'll thither sail and like a rat without a tail, I'll do, I'll do, and I'll do." It is probable that some psychology dissertation takes up *Behavior Patterns in Tailless Rats*. If so, I have not read it, but I know the witches were out for indiscriminate action. The Greek word for one of these everything-doers (*panourgos*) meant a rascal.

We have a good case of self-expression in Herodotus (6. 129). Clisthenes gave a house-

party for the suitors for his daughter's hand and studied them in action. A certain Hippoclidides seemed to be the favorite until he began to express himself. He had the orchestra tune up and danced "in a way pleasing to himself," according to the best standards of progressive education. Then afterwhile he had a table brought and danced two kinds of dubious folk-dances on that, and finally did a dance standing on his head. The prospective father-in-law could hardly stomach the first two dances, but when Hippoclidides did the headstand and brandished his legs, he exclaimed, "Son of Tisander, you have danced away your wedding." Doubtless there are good and bad forms of progressive education. But some pupils would seem to be going the way of Hippoclidides.

I have in a sketchy way suggested the negative and restraining aspect of Greek culture with modern parallels; featured negatives themselves, words beginning with the privative prefix, negative rhetoric, logic, philosophy, ethics and religion, government, education. All this implies no Nihilism, for Russian pessimism is to the effect that life is not worth living, whereas the Greek pessimism was wistful, a recognition of the beauty of life tinged with the pathos of its interruption for the individual by misfortune or death. What I have been dealing with is function and technique of living, that the Greek would not lead with his chin in the fight for life, but in words and attitude felt always the need of caution. The splendid achievement of the Greeks in every field of human endeavor—to which our own time has added an impressive chapter—frees them from any charge of defeatism.

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## FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING

## CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, APRIL 3, 4, 5, 1947

CONVENTION CENTER: HOTEL HERMITAGE

## —Note

## DULCE ET DECORUM EST PRO PATRIA MORI

*Are Horace's Words a Subtle Tribute to Cicero's Patriotism?*

*By John Bridge, College of the City of New York*

OF THE three odes of Horace's third book, designed to furnish inspiration and instruction for the younger generation, the second is dedicated to the Roman virtues of *Virtus* and *Fides*. Now the word *virtus* first came into use to denote the quality of a first-class fighting man, and Horace, fully aware of this, devotes the first four stanzas of the ode to the manliness of the soldier "hardened by fierce campaigning" and reaches the climax in the famous line: *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*.

But almost immediately it becomes apparent that this is not the true climax of the ode. There is something almost apologetic about the very next words:

mors et fugacem persequitur virum  
nec parcat imbellis iuventae  
poplitibus timidoque tergo.

The *memento mori* of Horace's Epicureanism thrusts itself to the front to justify this exaltation of the warrior at the outset of what all were promising would be an era of peace.

Suddenly now there is a shift of scene. *Virtus* takes on a new aspect: no longer is the quality the exclusive property of the soldier; it also belongs to the man steadfast in his devotion to the right and to his country, no matter how his country may treat him. Such a man rises superior to earthly forms and is indeed worthy of enduring life; and we have then the true climax of the ode in *spernit humum fugiente penna*.

A question now arises: what was the reason for this sudden shifting of emphasis? Why does the military glory fade almost into insignificance beside the *virtus* that Smith<sup>1</sup> in his edition admirably translates "true manhood"? The answer, I think, lies in Horace's own experience.

In the first place, it is difficult to take

Horace's militarism too seriously. Not only do the jesting words *relicta non bene parmula* and the satiric ode directed against the martial spirit of Iccius come to mind, but the whole burden of the poet's teaching was aimed at the fundamental causes of war. The experience of his times had taught him that these causes were rooted in two almost inseparable weaknesses of mankind, lust for wealth and ambition for power. In the sixteenth ode of the second book he reminds *Grosphus* that *otium* is not to be bought, "not with jewels nor royal purple; no, nor with gold." To leave no doubt of the comprehensiveness of *purpura* he adds in the next stanza

Non enim gazae neque consularis  
submovet lictor miseros tumultus  
mentis.

The coupling of *gazae* with *consularis lictor* is significant.

In the second place there is something almost perfunctory in his exhortations to war against the Parthians—exhortations that can be explained only by the circumstances of the period. When in the second ode of the first book he exhorts Octavian

neu sinas Medos equitare inultos  
te duce, Caesar

or when he says in the fifth ode of book three

praesens divus habebitur  
Augustus adiectis Britannis  
impero gravibusque Persis

he must have had in mind the settlement of 27 B.C. which restored the republic and left the military 'imperium' in the hands of Augustus. His words are not, in reality, so much an exhortation to war as a reminder

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—By Herbert C. Lipscomb

Randolph-Macon Woman's College  
BRITAIN'S TRIBUTE TO CAESAR

ON THE 8TH of May, 1945 Mr. Churchill, inspired by his unfailing sense of history, awakened in his youth, we are told, by the study of Gibbon, announced the end of the German War in a brief speech that concluded with the words: "Advance Britannia! Long live the cause of freedom! God save the King!"

More than a year later the British people were again reminded that their country had once been an integral part of the Roman Empire for on Sunday, the 25th of August, 1946, the Mayor of the city of Deal, in the presence of hundreds of spectators gathered

on the sea front, unveiled a tablet memorializing the two thousandth anniversary of the landing of Julius Caesar. The *East Kent Mercury*, sent to the writer through the kindness of the Town Clerk, Mr. D. A. Daniels, contains an interesting report of the impressive ceremonies, which were opened with prayer and the singing of the hymn, "O God our help in ages past."

After the Town Clerk had read a statement (prepared by the Deputy-Mayor) summarizing Caesar's account of the invasion and

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THE DEAL TABLET—BRITAIN'S TRIBUTE TO CAESAR

stressing the long period of Britain's close relationship with Rome, the chief address of the occasion was delivered by the Mayor of Deal who said in part:

"We stand here this afternoon to commemorate an episode in the history of this country 2,000 years ago, while around us evidence still remains of the measures taken to resist, only six years ago, an expected invasion on the very shore that Julius Caesar occupied.

"Julius Caesar, as you have heard, was not a welcome visitor—but we recognize that the Roman landing and occupation stimulated the development of overseas trade and the cultural advancement of this nation of ours.

"In retrospect we see across the centuries that out of evil came good . . .

"This coast of ours has ever been in the forefront of history; it is closely connected

with the beginnings of civilization and the religious life of the country . . .

"When, six years ago, we looked across these waters and saw civilization crumbling about us; saw the slowly ascending dark curtain which hid the horrors that was Dunkirk, and felt the vibrations that seemed to shake the very world, and in fact did so—our Lord Warden inspired us to fight for our freedom. And today the waters are peaceful—our opposite coast is friendly once more—and we are still a free people, proud of our traditions, proud of the roots from which we spring, and proud this day to commemorate an occasion not only unique in this ancient borough of ours, but of interest to the world beyond."

The Mayor then amid a roll of drums by the Royal Marines unveiled the tablet which bears the following inscription:

JVLIVS CAESAR  
MADE HIS FIRST LANDING IN BRITAIN  
ON DEAL FORESHORE ON AVGVST 25TH 55 B.C.

THIS TABLET WAS UNVEILED ON THE 25TH AVGVST 1946 BY THE MAYOR OF DEAL  
MR. COVNCILLOR SIDNEY LITTLE J. P. TO COMMEMORATE THE 2000TH  
ANNIVERSARY OF THE LANDING.

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## SECOND NORTHWESTERN STATE COLLEGE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CONFERENCE

ON MAY 2 and 3, 1947, the Second Northwestern State College Foreign Language Conference will be sponsored by Northwestern State College at Natchitoches, Louisiana, with the theme "Foreign Languages for Living in One World."

Professor W. C. Korfmacher, Director of the Department of Classical Languages, Saint Louis University, will be the lecturer in classical languages, and Professor Walter V. Kaulfers, School of Education, Stanford University, the lecturer in modern languages. Some fifty of the leading scholars and teachers of several states will present papers.

At the First Conference, May 3 and 4, 1946, with the theme "The Renaissance of Foreign Language Study," Professor B. L. Ullman, University of North Carolina (classical languages) and Professor James B. Tharp, Ohio State University (modern languages) were the lecturers, and there were more than 125 registrants (representing nine languages) from nine states.

Programs may be had from Professor Jonah W. D. Skiles, Director of the Foreign Language Conference, Box 1135, Northwestern State College, Natchitoches, Louisiana.



The dance mirrored all of Greek life,  
Greek thought, and Greek disposition

by Lillian Brady Lawler

## The Dance in Ancient Greece

"O divine Muse, join with me in the festival dance!"—Aristophanes, *Peace*, 816-817

THE Bright Greek sun was high in the flawless blue heavens. It was spring, many centuries before the Christian era. In the little Greek village, on the lower slopes of the great rock that was its citadel and the dwelling-place of its king, the humble houses of sun-dried brick stood open and deserted, and the goats clambered unrestrained up and down the steep, narrow streets; for it was the festival of Artemis, goddess who gives success in the hunt and increase among the flocks and herds, and all the villagers had gone to the celebration.

OUT ON a shoulder of a low hill, a mile or so from the citadel, was the village threshing-floor. Here, on the great round circle of beaten earth, the precious grain would be trampled and winnowed, later in the year. Now, on this spring festival day, it swarmed with joyous villagers, their long hair oiled and garlanded, their woolen, home-woven "chitons" (or tunics) clean and bright, their massive armlets and brooches gleaming in the sun.

In the very center of the threshing-floor a small, crude altar of wood had been set up in honor of Artemis; and around it had been

twined a garland made of early violets. The crowd milled about it, chattering happily, or eating figs, sticky candy made of honey, or cakes baked in the shape of the animals of Artemis.

Beside the threshing-floor, a few booths had been erected, of rough, canvas-like cloth and green boughs. Beneath one, a village musician was playing a minor strain on his squealing little Pan-pipe, while a cluster of admiring neighbors listened and gaped. In another booth a circle of old men sat, their white beards and long braided white hair contrasting sharply with their wrinkled, weather-reddened skin. One of their number was chanting a lay of heroic deeds of bygone times, his gnarled hands "dancing out" his story in symbolic gesture as he went along. His cracked old voice rose and fell, and his hearers nodded approval, sometimes even muttering an accompaniment to his words. In an adjacent booth a young woman offered fragrant garlands of spring flowers, to be worn on the head or around the neck. In the booth just beyond, thick, sweet wine and clear, cold water were being dispensed. The vendor, something of a village wag, kept up a flow of witticisms in a loud, compelling voice, to the intense delight of the young men among his customers, who now and then joined in the jesting, often to their own discomfort, when the wine-seller turned the barb of his wit upon them, naming names.

### The Dancers Come

TWO OF THE BOOTHS were closed, but from both came sounds of voices and of subdued, scrambling activity. From time to time the villagers stopped to stare at them in hopeful anticipation. Finally their patience was re-

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(It is a distinct pleasure to welcome Miss Lawler back to the pages of *CJ*. Readers will recall her "Portrait of a Dancer" in our March issue last year—"Pylades, Idol of the Roman Empire.")

Miss Lawler informs us that she once studied dancing herself, ballet, folk, and interpretative. In addition to having the necessary grounding in classical scholarship for the study of the ancient dance, she has traveled herself pretty much all over the world to gain an acquaintance with native dances—Greece and Italy, Cyprus, Asia Minor, Central and South America, Cuba, China, Japan, Philippines, Hawaii, Fiji Islands, Samoa, New Zealand . . . without neglecting the American Indian, either.

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warded. A flap in the larger booth was suddenly raised, and, with a loud roar that was a composite of numerous animal cries, a rout of masked dancers burst upon the scene. Each wore a short woolen chiton and rough sandal-like shoes; but these purely human attributes were cast into oblivion by the great mask-wig combinations that covered head and neck, turning the dancer into a stag, a lion, a bird, a panther, a boar, a wolf, a griffin, a fish. At the end of the line a musician, clad in the long, ungirt robe of his profession, drew his hand across the strings of his cithara, or hand-harp, and moved with the dancers out upon the threshing-floor.

Children squealed with excitement, and clung to their mothers' or their nurses' chitons, as the crowd fell back along the perimeter of the circular dancing-place, and prepared to watch the sacred mummery in honor of Artemis, "Mistress of Animals." A moment later, from the other closed booth, several small figures in shaggy yellow-brown bear-costumes, with eared hoods, lumbered forth in assumed awkwardness, amid the laughter and shouts of the spectators. These were the "bears," the young maidens of the village, who must all "dance the bear" for Artemis once in their lives, before they came to the age for marriage.

### *Simplicity to Sophistication*

THE DANCERS circled the threshing-floor, roaring, rearing, pivoting, darting suddenly at the spectators, sometimes even bowling them over. The little "bears" stamped about with their "paws" extended, imitating their wild prototypes, to the delight of the villagers. These cheered their favorites among the "animals," laughed, shouted witticisms, threw flowers and cakes, and half-consciously swayed and gestured in imitation of the dancers. The twanging of the cithara was drowned in the general uproar; and the "animals" went each his own way, settling his own rhythm, and abandoning it only when, as frequently happened, he collided with another dancer. Bedlam reigned; and over it all, presumably, Artemis watched, and was pleased.

It was in some such setting as this that the dance developed in early Greece. Not all of its manifestations consisted in animal mummery, of course; but animal dances among the Greeks are very old and very numerous, and they underlie more of the dances of the classical period than even the Greeks themselves suspected. Greek dances passed from primitive simplicity to complex sophistication, down through the centuries, and became infinitely varied.

*Dances ultimately mirrored all of Greek life, Greek thought, and the Greek disposition; and to study the progress of the Greek dance is, in a sense, to study the Greeks themselves.*

To the Greek, the dance was intensely important, ritualistically, personally, socially. Much of his religious activity included dancing. In the dance he endeavored to enter into spiritual kinship with his gods. With the magic of the dance he ward off vague but dangerous evil beings, or famine and disease. By dancing he sought to obtain good crops, to ensure fertility among his flocks and in his own household, to be fortunate in the hunt, to gain victories in war. With the dance he hallowed his dramatic festivals, or revealed solemn mysteries to neophytes. Dancing had a definite place in his education, and it played an important part in his physical and emotional development. With the dance he cured nervous disorders. With the dance he created abstract beauty for its own sake, or amused himself. A great deal of his military training took the form of dancing. By means of the dance he expressed all his personal and communal emotions of joy and sorrow, and marked all the great events of his own life and that of his city. With the dance he entertained his guests. With joyous dance he greeted the return of spring; with dance he celebrated harvest and vintage, increase among flocks and herds, births and weddings in his home, success in the hunt and in battle. In a very particular way, the dance symbolized to him the joy of peace, after the terror of war—"dances are ours," says Tryphiodorus (427-429), "and honey-breathing music, and no more war."



FIGURE 1. DANCES IN HONOR OF DIONYSUS. THE PICTURE SHOWS THE "WING-SLEEVED" DANCE OF WOMEN, PECULIAR TO THE RITUAL OF DIONYSUS. THE DANCE MAY HAVE ORIGINATED IN A BIRD DANCE OF GREAT ANTIQUITY. (LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM, E 75).

Among the Greeks, the dance was a social activity in the truest sense of the word. However, our very common form of the "social" dance, performed by a man and a woman together, for amusement, seems not to have appealed to them; for we have no certain evidence of anything quite like it in Greek times.

#### Ancient and Modern Dance

ALL OF THIS emphasizes another point of great significance—viz., that the ancient Greek concept of the dance differs considerably from our own. An approach to any phase of an ancient civilization requires some mental adjustment on the part of the reader—some deliberate casting off of modern ideas, and conscious orientation to points of view essentially different from those of his own day and age. In no aspect of classical studies is

this more strikingly true than in the field of the dance. To the Greek of the classical period, for instance, *orcheisthai*, his word for "to dance," seems to have connoted something like "to make any series of movements, however simple, and involving any part or parts of the body, provided the movements be rhythmical." The Greek could dance with his hands, with his head, with his eyes. He quite often danced without moving his feet at all—indeed, even in a sitting position! There is a classic instance (Herodotus 6. 129) of a Greek who danced with his legs while standing on his head; and at times the Greek actually speaks of "standing in a dance" (Euripides, *Iph. Taur.* 1143; cf. Callistratus 14. 5). What we call a parade or a military drill they would call a dance; a funeral or wedding procession, or a procession of any sort, a rhythmic game

of ball, an exhibition of juggling or tumbling, a tightrope performance, children's games, the measured gesticulations of the tragic actor, all were dances to him.

### *Dance and Music*

FURTHER, the ancient Greek did not think of dancing as an art complete in itself. In his mind it was inseparably connected not only with music (an association entirely comprehensible to us today), but also with poetry. As a matter of fact, he often "danced" poetry, interpreting the verses with rhythmic movements of his arms, body, and head; and an ancient poet (Ausonius, *Id.* 20. 6) speaks of dancing with the foot, with the voice, and with the countenance, simultaneously. In such activity the Greek evolved what he called *cheironomia*—a whole code of gestures and symbolic movements the extent and complexity of which are almost beyond our comprehension, but the effect of which even upon foreigners was immediate and convincing. Music, poetry, the dance—to the Greek they were all facets of the same thing, the art which he called *mousikē*, the "art of the Muses." In its broadest sense it signified to him all of the education of the mind, and, indeed, the very essence of civilization. He says of a barbarous enemy tribe, "For them there is no significance in life; they have no dancing, no Helicon, no Muse."<sup>1</sup>

For the modern student who wishes to learn something about the dancing of the ancient Greeks there are several avenues of approach. Our "sources" of information are, in fact, of at least seven different types—literary, metrical, musical, archaeological, epigraphical, linguistic, and anthropological.

The most obvious are literary sources—specific statements about the dance made by ancient writers. Almost the whole of Greek literature is an informal source for the study of the dance. Mortals, supernatural beings, even animals, dance through its pages; and its very figures of speech abound in echoes of the dance. Accordingly, the student who would understand the Greek dance would do well to read widely and deeply in Greek literature, of all periods and all genres, prose

and poetry, greater and lesser works alike. In general, Homer, Xenophon, Pollux, Lucian, Athenaeus, and Libanius will be found to be most useful.

Metrical sources are of two kinds—treatises on metrics, by ancient grammarians; and the actual lines of verse to which the ancients danced, wherever these have come down to us. Metrical sources are primary sources; and, especially where they corroborate information from literary and other sources, they cannot be ignored.

Musical sources comprise treatises on music, by ancient writers; remains of the music itself; and a few of the actual musical instruments of antiquity, which survive in a good state of preservation. What is known of Greek music must be taken into account in any thoroughgoing study of the ancient dance.

### *Archaeological Sources*

ARCHAEOLOGICAL sources on the dance include tangible objects which have survived from antiquity to the present time, and which furnish representations of dancing and dancers, or of objects used by dancers. Such objects are extant in large numbers. They include statues in marble and in bronze; figurines in terracotta and in metal; reliefs on plaques, on urns, and on the sides of buildings; choregic monuments, especially that of Lysicrates; votive cymbals set up in shrines; delicate carvings on gems, on ivory, on gold and silver jewelry, and on moulds to be used in the making of seals; mosaic floors and stuccoed ceilings; an occasional coin; and paintings, both on walls and on pottery. Archaeological sources are of the first importance to the student of the ancient dance, and serve to render that dance strikingly vivid. But, on the other hand, no sources are so capable of serious misinterpretation as are these ancient pictures of the dance, in part because of the damaged condition of most of the objects involved, in part because of the artistic conventions employed by the ancient artist.

In a broad sense, epigraphical sources are really archaeological, because they are actual survivals from antiquity; but so distinctive are they that they may be considered apart.



They comprise the various ancient inscriptions dealing with dancing and dancers which have come down to us. One of these, the oldest known Attic inscription, is scratched upon a wine-jug which was an award in a dancing contest. The great official inscriptions on the island of Delos, where dancing was of tremendous ritualistic importance, are a treasure trove for the student of the dance. When used carefully, and when checked with evidence obtained from other sources, inscriptions are of great significance for the history of the dance.

"Linguistic sources" are the technical words and expressions used by the ancients in speaking of their dances. In many cases the only knowledge which we have of an ancient dance or figure or step or gesture is its name. The Greek language, as it happens, is rich and flexible. Names given to dances and figures are usually meant to be descriptive; they can, if we strive to comprehend them correctly and

etymologically, give us a quick and vivid glimpse of the dancer in action. Linguistic study frequently furnishes almost startling corroboration of suggestions given by other sources. It must be remembered, however, that faulty etymologies are easy to come upon, and can serve as dangerous pitfalls for the unwary.

Anthropological sources are comparative materials obtained from a study of the dance among various peoples of the world. For such a study small and remote villages are particularly suitable. Modern Greece, Spain, southern Italy, Sicily, Crete, and Asia Minor show interesting survivals of the Greek dances which were once performed there. Even lands farther afield furnish material for comparison—Ireland, Cambodia, Japan, Samoa, Africa, India. Also, scattered records of the dances of ancient races contemporary with the Greeks—the Egyptians, Hebrews, Phrygians, Thracians—can be illuminating and instructive.



FIGURE 2. A GRACEFUL DANCE OF THREE WOMEN. THIS ILLUSTRATES THE TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES OF GREEK VASE PAINTING. THE ARTIST ENDEAVORS TO SHOW THREE WOMEN DANCING IN A CIRCLE. THE FIGURE IN THE REAR, APPARENTLY ELEVATED, IS THOUGHT OF AS ON THE FAR SIDE OF THE CIRCLE. NOTE THE ARTIST'S DIFFICULTY IN PORTRAYING A HEAD BENT BACK OR FORWARD. (LOUVRE ARYBALLOS. *Mon. Gr.* 1889-90, PL. 9-10).



FIGURE 3. A CEREMONIAL DANCE OF GREEK WOMEN.

It would be ideal to have for each phase of the dance a combination of all types of source; but that is seldom possible. When a difficulty of interpretation arises in the study of the ancient dance, one must seek a solution by using as many different types of evidence as he can find.

### Modern Studies

MODERN INTEREST in the Greek dance, and attempts to restore and understand it, go back as far as the sixteenth century. The great scholar, Julius Caesar Scaliger, in his treatise *On Comedy and Tragedy*, devoted much space to ancient Greek dances and figures. A little later, Johannes Meursius, a Dutch scholar, put together an alphabetical catalogue of more than two hundred dances and figures, to form his *Orchestra*, or *On the Dances of the Ancients*. From the days of Scaliger and Meursius to the present, there has been a more or less constant interest in the ancient dance, although that interest has not resulted in voluminous publication. In general, the subject has been pursued by two groups—professional dancers, and classical scholars. However, the former, who aim

avowedly at a restoration in visible form of the Greek dance, seem conscious of the fact that their lack of knowledge of Greek and archaeology will inevitably force them into historical errors. The latter, very well grounded in archaeology and ancient literature, seem to feel an inability to cope with the technical aspects of the dance. This situation has undoubtedly limited work in the field. Further, attempts at collaboration between the two groups have not been successful.

### Neo-Greek Dances

DURING the present century, certain new forms of the dance which owe some of their inspiration to the dance of the ancient Greeks have come to the fore, and have attracted wide attention. Many of these have been in the nature of a reaction from the rigorous discipline of the formal ballet dance, from the futility and sterility of the dances of ballroom and theater, and, incidentally, from the restraints of clothing and manners of the dancers' own day. Among these Neo-Greek dance forms have been those of Isadora Duncan, Ruth St. Denis, Ted Shawn, and their followers, and the "Eurhythmics" of Jaques-

Dalcroze. There is no question but that the Neo-Greek dance movement has been productive of much that is good, especially in its educational aspects. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Neo-Greek dance is not a facsimile of the ancient Greek dance, and that much of it would probably astonish an ancient Greek beyond measure. On the other hand, if a modern spectator could see any one of several genuinely ancient dances as performed by a Greek of the sixth, fifth, or fourth century before the Christian era, he would be even more astonished. He would hardly regard it as a dance at all, in any modern sense of the word; and he probably would neither understand nor like it—at first sight, at any rate.

The Greek dance, then, confronts us as quite a problem. There is nothing just like it in existence today, and it must be studied

as a distinct entity, with all the aids at our disposal. We shall never, in all probability, be able to restore any ancient dance in its entirety; for the very essence of the dance is movement, and movement can be transmitted from antiquity only indirectly. The best we can hope to do is to study all the evidence available, from as many angles as possible; to put together as many facts as we can find, and to make reasonable deductions from those facts. In this way, proceeding slowly and with infinite care, we may attain ultimately to an appreciation of what must have been as great an art of the dance as the world has ever seen.

## NOTE

<sup>1</sup> D. L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri*, Vol. I, Poetry. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1942. No. 143, p. 598, lines 18-19. Fifth century after Christ, anonymous.



FIGURE 4. KOMOS DANCERS OF THE SIXTH CENTURY. A KOMOS DANCE IS A DANCE OF JOY AND HIGH SPIRITS, AND IS OFTEN ASSOCIATED WITH DRINKING. THE ATTITUDES OF THE FIGURES ARE PHYSICALLY IMPOSSIBLE IF ONE ATTEMPTS TO INTERPRET THEM EXACTLY AS DRAWN, BUT ARE QUITE UNDERSTANDABLE IF ONE INTERPRETS THEM IN THE LIGHT OF ARTISTIC CONVENTION AND GENERAL COMMON SENSE.

## "DULCE ET DECORUM EST"

(Continued from Page 340)

to Augustus of the purpose for which the military power was left in his possession. That is, the armies were to be used for the defense of the frontiers, and no longer against Roman citizens. That was the covenant made with Augustus, and those are the terms under which Horace was willing to support him.<sup>3</sup>

What then was in Horace's mind when he wrote *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*? His own experience must have occurred to him, and that of another great Roman whom Horace nowhere mentions but whose cause he had supported in arms and who had met the death that Horace had escaped.

It would not have been tactful in the Rome of Augustus to have honored too openly the man whom Augustus had betrayed. The most difficult thing that Augustus had to live down was the record of the proscriptions, and the blackest spot in that record was the acquiescence of Augustus in Antony's burning desire to remove his enemy. When they wish to extol the virtues of the dying republic the Augustan poets take as a symbol of those virtues the name of Cato of Utica.<sup>3</sup> Before the name of Cicero they are silent,<sup>4</sup> and their very silence perhaps indicates something of the sensitiveness of Augustus upon this subject.<sup>5</sup>

## A Tribute to Cicero?

NONETHELESS, I believe that we have in this ode a tribute to Cicero—and a glowing tribute. The mere fact of Horace's insistence on a higher exercise of *virtus* than that displayed on the battlefield brings to mind Cicero's last stand against Antony's assault upon the republic. The aged statesman, after his exile and his long years of forced exclusion from politics, at the end of his life rose superior to the decay about him and, as the leader of the senate, did indeed shine forth *intaminatis . . . honoribus*.

But there is a closer parallel than this. As is well known, Cicero in the *Somnium Scipionis* puts forward the idea that service rendered to the fatherland is the highest form

of activity open to man. The ordered life of states is a reflection of the ordered universe that is a manifestation of the divine intelligence.<sup>6</sup> Those men who have furthered this order on earth will have been true to their divine nature and will have their reward in a blessed immortality in heaven. In summing up, he makes the spirit of the elder Africanus speak these words: *Sunt autem optima curae de salute patriae, quibus agitur et exercitatus animus velocius in hanc sedem et domum suam pervolabit*, and adds: *Eorum animi qui se corporis voluptatibus dediderunt . . . corporibus elapsi circum terram ipsam volutantur nec hunc in locum nisi multis exagitati saeculis revertuntur*.<sup>7</sup>

The lines of Horace

*Virtus recludens immeritis mori  
caelum negata temptat iter via  
coetusque vulgaris et udam  
spernit humum fugiente penna*

are closely in accord with the spirit of Cicero's words. Warde Fowler has pointed out the novelty for the Romans of the Greek views of immortality presented by Cicero.<sup>8</sup> That Cicero himself was fully conscious of this seems clear from the emphasis he places in the *De Senectute* on the thought that the ideas regarding the soul and immortality that he is about to express are not commonly accepted but are his own beliefs. His words are: *Non enim video cur quid ipse sentiam de morte non audeam vobis dicere*.<sup>9</sup>

Horace, to be sure, was no doubt familiar with the Platonic writings that inspired Cicero, and could have derived his ideas from the same source. But the circumstances again come to the fore. Could the Roman poet who fought at Philippi—and survived—have failed as he wrote these words to think of the statesman who, more than any other, roused the opposition that made Philippi possible—and died? Surely there is significance to be attached to the fact that these words of the Epicurean Horace, designed to instill in the

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## Epicurus and Friendship

J. Hilton Turner

EPICURUS THE ATHENIAN philosopher who is said to have numbered his friends by cities and whose school continued uninterrupted for centuries,<sup>1</sup> is now almost a forgotten man even to some who use his name. To many, Epicureanism is the ancient atomic theory according to Lucretius, to more it is the doctrine "Eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die." Neither picture is complete or quite accurate. Brilliant as Lucretius was, he was not a typical follower of Epicurus either in the violence of his enthusiasm or in his obsessive interest in the scientific side of the system. Epicurus' interest was in happiness, which he unwisely termed pleasure, to be obtained by removing the reasons for unhappiness. The atomic theory was to him simply a means to this end, since belief in it eliminated the superstitious fears which plagued the minds of his contemporaries. The rest of his teachings were directed towards the same end, a happiness contributed to by peace of mind and a physical well-being unmarred by overindulgence or undue asceticism. The result is a closely-knit system with almost no loose ends, each element contribut-

ing to the desired result. The purpose of this article is to discuss one element of this teaching, the importance attributed to friendship.

### *Epicurean Friendship Inconsistent?*

OF ALL the things wisdom prepares for the blessedness of the complete life, far the greatest is the possession of friendship.<sup>2</sup>

This statement along with others from Epicurus' fragments shows how highly friendship (*philia*) was regarded by the Epicureans. However, the emphasis placed on friendship has in general been regarded as a weakness in the consistency of Epicurean ethics.<sup>3</sup> The alleged weakness is briefly as follows: The ultimate good of the Epicurean is pleasure. This is satisfactory as an explanation of self-regarding action. In general it is quite possible to explain our activity as governed by a desire to gain greater pleasure or avoid greater pain, and to attribute our errors to ignorance of what these actually are. The same reasoning bases friendship on selfish motives. The opponents of Epicureanism, with the idealized conception of the true meaning of friendship, regarded this notion as a denial of the better side of human nature.<sup>4</sup> But with apparent inconsistency Epicurus and his disciples recommended and practiced a quite lofty type of friendship. The Epicurean *sapiens* was expected, if need be, to die for a friend.<sup>5</sup> A number of precepts can be gathered to show that friendship was on a reciprocal basis and that disinterested action was actually encouraged.<sup>6</sup> The verdict has been that the reconciliation of these teachings is difficult even on the basis of the claim that to give is more pleasant than to receive,<sup>7</sup> and that in regard to human relationships, Epicurean philosophy is high-minded and magnanimous in precept and practice, but in

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(The author of this article was born in Ontario and as an undergraduate attended Victoria College in the University of Toronto. He received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Cincinnati in 1944. He has since held the position of Classics Master at Bishop's College School, Lennoxville, Quebec, and is at present head of the Latin department at The McCallie School, Chattanooga.

As Dr. Turner points out, Epicurus is one of the great neglected figures of ancient times. In contrast to Plato, however, he was a popular philosopher whose teachings appealed to a great many educated people. In this connection, the reader should turn back to N. W. DeWitt's article in the January, 1947 issue of THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL.

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its theoretical basis cynical and mean.

In this article I propose to re-examine the position of friendship in the ethics of Epicurus by the use of pertinent evidences all too inadequately provided by his fragments, and to attempt to fit them into a reasonable pattern in accord with the aims of the philosophy.

It is, however, not my purpose to try to find a hard and fast logical consistency between theory and practice, and, failing in the search, to condemn this element of his ethical theory as another of many weaknesses. To be shocked at unscientific conclusions and inconsistencies of logic in Epicureanism is waste of emotional effort, and to judge him on the basis of such weaknesses without investigating the motives behind is to run the risk of obscuring the meaning of his philosophy. Epicurus was a pioneer in many respects, an original thinker who boasted that he was not indebted to teachers.<sup>8</sup> This boast is to a degree refuted by the facts, and his philosophy has been jeered at as second-hand, a debased version of the atomism of Democritus combined with a debased version of the hedonism of Aristippus,<sup>9</sup> but his system viewed as a whole was his original creation possessing unity by virtue of its ultimate goal, the happy life for the individual, to be attained by the greatest possible removal of unpleasantness. It is with this principle in mind that I propose to investigate the place of friendship (*philia*) in Epicurean doctrine. The method employed in this article will be then to ask why Epicurus should be interested in *philia* and what contribution he intended it to make towards the goal of his philosophy. The validation of the resulting pattern will be its plausibility.

### Two Kinds of Love

TO BEGIN, it is perhaps well to point out that the word *philia* is very inadequately translated by "friendship" in English.<sup>10</sup> Its application is of far wider extent and it is perhaps better understood as non-passionate affection as contrasted with *erôs*, passionate love. It is, for example, used of the relations between members of a family. As used by the Epicureans it recognized no barriers of sex, age, caste, or nationality. We have fragments

of letters addressed by Epicurus to a wide variety of people, including Leontion, a *hetæra*,<sup>11</sup> and some unidentified children.<sup>12</sup> Both slave and free were admitted to the Epicurean fellowship.<sup>13</sup>

This emphasis on affection not based on passion is probably partially explained by a dislike of excessive emotion coupled with a realization of the power of love. Although the most violent Epicurean denunciations of love are found in Lucretius,<sup>14</sup> and their vehemence was probably personal,<sup>15</sup> Epicurus himself beyond doubt disapproved of passionate love and, in fact, condemned it as a "vehement desire after sexual pleasure accompanied by goading restlessness."<sup>16</sup> There is on the other hand the often quoted passage:

I, for my part, am unable to think of the good, taking away the pleasures of the belly, and those from love, and those of hearing and sight.<sup>17</sup>

The significance of this passage, calculated to emphasize the material and sensuous basis of his ethical system, has, we may assume, been distorted by removal from context. To avoid a lengthy discussion, the most natural conclusion regarding his attitude toward love from the evidence we have, and the most consistent with his doctrine, is that it belongs to the category of natural but unnecessary desires of which the lack of fulfilment brings no pain.<sup>18</sup>

Take away sight and conversation and association and the passion of love is at an end.<sup>19</sup>

Epicurus had none of the daring idealism of Plato, who in dealing with the same passion would exalt it to become the desire which draws a man upward in the search for truth until he finally is able to look upon the beauty of the eternal forms.<sup>20</sup> The love which Epicurus exalted was love without passion. It was also a democratic love, not the one-sided love of two men, an older and a younger, like the lower stage of Platonic love. It is, however, with some confidence that I suggest that Epicurus in emphasizing love without passion was attempting, like Plato, but in a way suiting his far different personality, to purify the passion of love. We have here, then, a plausible reason for Epicurus' approval of *philia*—it was love which did not partake of

the disagreeable qualities and the limitations of *eros*.

### *Friendship: a Means to Happiness*

HOWEVER, in keeping with the principle that Epicurus' philosophy finds unity in its end, *philia* should be further considered in relation to his ultimate purpose. This is the physical and mental welfare or pleasure of the individual. To secure this end he had adopted the atomic theory, which gave a plausible mechanistic explanation of the origin of the universe and of natural phenomena, thus eliminating the need for divine interference, and which also demonstrated the mortality of the soul. By this means could be eliminated the two greatest fears, fear of the gods and of torture after death. Thus human life was placed within definite limits over which the individual might be expected to have some control. Further he had precepts regarding fears and worry in the "limited life" thus given to man.

... The security that comes from a life of retirement and withdrawal from the crowd is the most unalloyed.<sup>21</sup>

The man who has best ordered the element of disquiet arising from external circumstances has made what he could akin to himself and the rest at least not alien: but with all to which he could not do even this, he has refrained from mixing, and has obtained outside support for all which it was of advantage to treat thus.<sup>22</sup>

The main part of this teaching is frequently summed up in the command: *lathe biosas*, "live unknown."<sup>23</sup> But this life in seclusion was not to be the life of a hermit: Lucilius asked Seneca:

Is Epicurus right in chiding as he does in one of his letters those who say that the *sapiens* is satisfied with himself and for that reason has no need of a friend?<sup>24</sup>

It is friendship then that fills the gap and provides both the human companionship and the security needed by man. This is the significance of the reference to the "complete life" in the passage quoted near the beginning of this article. Elsewhere Epicurus considers

worthy of comparison the confidence gained by the knowledge that there is no existence after death and the security given in this "limited space of life" by friendship.<sup>25</sup>

### *Friendship Must Be Self-centered*

THIS is the position of *philia* in Epicurean philosophy, a substitute for those connections which impaired the opportunity of the individual for self-determination. In this relationship, however, in order that freedom of will and action may not suffer encroachment, the self-centered basis of friendship must not be forgotten. And so we have a constant emphasis on need and personal pleasure as the beginning of friendship.<sup>26</sup> The individual, for the sake of his own peace of mind, cannot afford to become a slave to necessity, or to superstitious beliefs, or to the whims of his fellow men. But as a free agent the Epicurean can and is expected to maintain a very high standard in his friendship.

We must not approve those who are always ready for friendship or those who hang back, but for friendship's sake we must even risk gratitude.<sup>27</sup>

It is not so much our friends' help that helps us as the confidence of their help.<sup>28</sup>

He is no friend who is continually asking for help nor he who never associates help with friendship. For the former barter gratitude for a practical return and the latter destroys the hope of good in the future.<sup>29</sup>

Epicurus also forbade compulsory community of goods on the ground that it implied a distrust, which had no place in friendship.<sup>30</sup> Despite the prevalent view referred to at the beginning of this article, this generosity and altruism is in keeping with his philosophy:

It is not merely more noble, but also more pleasant to do good than to be the recipient thereof.<sup>31</sup>

That is to say, the action is itself better and it makes for the mental well-being and pleasure of the benefactor because the favourable balance in well-doing ensures the freedom from obligation which is essential for happiness. He may have added that to do good is more conducive to *asphaleia*, actual personal

security, than to be the recipient, although we have no surviving statement to this effect. This was, for example, the experience of the well-known Epicurean Atticus, who by a well calculated program of benefaction survived unscathed the political upheavals of the first century B.C., despite his immense wealth and personal prominence.<sup>32</sup>

### *Friendship and the Epicurean Community*

ALTHOUGH this emphasis on self-interest, realistic as it is, may seem slightly repugnant, it must be remembered that friendship is reciprocal and with the Epicureans was not exclusive, but seems to have been potentially all-embracing.<sup>33</sup> From this point of view it was nobler than the famous friendships of Damon and Phintias and Pylades and Orestes, quoted against it by Cicero,<sup>34</sup> in that those friends, although, as the stories have it, they had no thought of self, excluded the rest of the world from the intimacy of their communion.

True Epicurean friendship was enjoyed in the fellowship of those who lived in accordance with Epicurean precepts:

Friendship too has practical needs as its motive. One must indeed lay its foundations (we seed the ground too) but it is formed and maintained through community of life among those who have reached the fullness of pleasure.<sup>35</sup>

This meant historically the Epicurean school at Athens and other schools which sprang from it.

At vero Epicurus una in domo, et ea quidem angusta, quam magnos quantaque amoris conspiratione consentientes tenuit amicorum greges! quod fit etiam nunc ab Epicureis.<sup>36</sup>

The nature of Epicurean *contubernium* is indicated by the following:

Epicurus did not recommend them to put their possessions into a common stock as did Pythagoras when he said that "Friends have all in common"; for to do so implied distrust and distrust could not go with friendship.<sup>37</sup>

Those who have the power of procuring the greatest confidence as regards their neighbours, also live with one another most pleasantly since

they have the most certain pledge of security, and after they have enjoyed the fullest intimacy, they do not lament the previous departure of one who has perished, as though he were to be pitied.<sup>38</sup>

Friendship was useful to Epicurus from a practical point of view. It was the cement which held his school together. This fellowship of the Epicureans, called by a renegade "that mystic communion,"<sup>39</sup> probably is as important as any other factor in accounting for the long survival of the school.<sup>40</sup>

### *Evangelistic Friendship*

AND IT HAD an even wider application. Apart from the immediate circle, Epicurus is said by his biographer to have numbered his friends by cities.<sup>41</sup> There is also a remarkable passage which is usually taken as a picturesque encomium of friendship, but which, I think, deserves to be taken more literally.

Friendship goes dancing around the world, proclaiming to us all to awake to the praises of the blessed life.<sup>42</sup>

Friendship, the personal contact, was what Epicurus, himself noted for his kindliness,<sup>43</sup> counted on to emancipate his fellows from fears and mental distress and pain, and introduce them to happiness.

Here comparison with Platonic love, mentioned earlier, is not without some significance. Epicurus and Plato both saw in love potentialities which might well serve their purposes. Both would take the force and use it, each in the manner which suited his temperament. Plato wished to purify and intensify it so that it might be the attraction through which man is drawn towards the divine forms. Epicurus by emphasizing a less intense love democratized it; in relation to the happiness of the individual he made it a selfish thing, but in relation to the happiness of the individuals who make up the Epicurean *contubernium* and those who make up society, he caused the stigma of selfishness to fade and friendship to become not only a practical and even commendable basis for human relationships, but even to blossom into a missionary zeal.



## NOTES

References to the *Ratae Sententiae* and the Vatican collection of fragments are indicated by R.S. and S.V., respectively. Most fragments are referred to by the source and the number in Usener, *Epicurea* (Leipzig, 1887) noted in parentheses.

<sup>1</sup> Diogenes Laertius, 10. 9.

<sup>2</sup> R.S. 27, ὧν ἡ σοφία παρασκευάζεται εἰς τὴν τοῦ θλου βίου μακαριότητα πολὺ μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἡ τῆς φιλίας κτήσις. Cf. S.V. 78.

<sup>3</sup> See Bailey, Cyril, *The Greek Atomists and Epicurus*, Oxford, 1928, 517-521; Hicks, R. D., *Stoic and Epicurean*, New York, 1910; Guyau, Marie Jean, *La Morale d'Epicure et ses rapports avec les doctrines contemporaines*, Paris, 1904, 131-141. Views in closer accord with the conclusions reached in this article are to be found in the articles of Professor N. W. DeWitt, cited below (notes 26 and 36), to whom I must acknowledge a considerable indebtedness.

<sup>4</sup> Cicero, *De Finibus*, 2. 78 ff.; Plutarch, *De Amore Proliis*, 2, p. 495a (U527): θαυμάζεται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ὁ εἰς ὧν, μισθοῦ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων τις ἀνθρώπων φιλεῖ; (καίτοι) κατ' Ἐπίκουρον ὁ πατὴρ τὸν υἱόν, (ἡ) μήτηρ τὸ τέκνον, οἱ ποῖδες τοὺς τεκόντας.

<sup>5</sup> Diog. Laert., 10. 120b; καὶ ὑπερ φιλου ποτὲ τεθνήξεται.

<sup>6</sup> See below notes 27-30.

<sup>7</sup> See below note 31.

<sup>8</sup> Diog. Laert., 10. 13.

<sup>9</sup> Cicero, *De Fin.*, 1. 17-26.

<sup>10</sup> Hereafter when "friendship" is used as a translation of *φιλία*, it is to be understood as having the same connotation as the Greek word.

<sup>11</sup> Diog. Laert., 10. 5 (Us.143); 7 (Us.145).

<sup>12</sup> *Volumen Herculanense* 176, col. 18 (Us.176).

<sup>13</sup> Diog. Laert., 10. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, 4. 1037-1287.

<sup>15</sup> See Stearns, J. B., "Epicurus and Lucretius on Love," *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, 31 (1936) 343-351, who has made a rather too successful attempt to divorce the sentiments of Epicurus and Lucretius, and has, I feel, made the schism too great.

<sup>16</sup> Hermias, in *Platonis Phaedrum*, p. 76 (Us.483), σύντονον δρεῖν ἀφροδισίων μετὰ οἰστρον καὶ ἀδημονίας. Cf. S.V. 51.

<sup>17</sup> Us.67, derived from Diog. Laert., 10. 6; Athenaeus, 278 f.; 280b; 546c; οὐ γὰρ ἐγώ γε ἔχω τί νόσῳ τάγαθόν, ἀφαιρῶν μὲν τὰς διὰ χυλῶν ἡδονάς, ἀφαιρῶν δὲ τὰς δι' ἀφροδισίων, ἀφαιρῶν δὲ τὰς δι' ἀκροσμάτων, ἀφαιρῶν δὲ τὰς διὰ μορφῆς κατ' ὅλην ἡδέας κινήσεις.

<sup>18</sup> R.S. 26; 30.

<sup>19</sup> S.V. 18, ἀφαιρουμένης προσήφως καὶ οὐκίας καὶ συναναστροφῆς ἐκλύεται τὸ ἐρωτικὸν πάθος. Cf. S.V. 51.

<sup>20</sup> Plato, *Symposium*, 270A-212B.

<sup>21</sup> R.S. 14, εὐκλειπτοῦ γίνεσθαι ἢ ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας καὶ ἐκχωρήσεως τῶν πολλῶν ἀσφάλεια.

<sup>22</sup> R.S. 39, ὁ δὲ τὴν μὴ θαρροῦν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξωθεν ἄριστα συστησάμενος οὕτως τὰ μὲν δυνατὰ ἀνδρόφιλῶς κατεσκευάσατο. τὰ δὲ μὴ δυνατὰ οὐκ ἀλλόφιλῶς γε· ὅσα δὲ μὴδὲ τοῦτο δυνατὸς ἦν, ἀνεπίμκτος ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐξηρείσατο ὅσα τοῦτ'

ἐλυσιστῆλει πράττειν.

<sup>23</sup> Plut., *Εἰ καλῶς εἰρηται τὸ λάβε βίωσας*, p. 1128 ff. (Us.551).

<sup>24</sup> Seneca, *Epistulae*, 9, 1 (Us.174), An merito reprehendat in quadam epistula Epicurus eos, qui dicunt sapientem se ipso esse contentum, et propter hoc amico non indigere desideras scire.

<sup>25</sup> R.S. 28, ἡ αὐτὴ γνώμη θαρρεῖν τε ἐποίησεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴθὲν αἰώνιον εἶναι δεῦν μὴδὲ πολυχρόνιον, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὠρισμένοις ἀσφάλειαν φιλίας μάλιστα κατεῖδε συντελούμενην. "The same opinion which has given us confidence of the fact that nothing that is terrible is everlasting or of long duration has been brought about to the greatest degree the security which we possess from friendship in the limited space of life itself."

<sup>26</sup> For example, S.V. 23; S.V. 34; Diog. Laert., 10. 120b (see note 35); Plut., *adversus Coloten*, 8, p. 1111b (Us.546). For Epicurean practice regarding friendship see DeWitt, N. W., "Epicurean Doctrine of Gratitude," *American Journal of Philology*, 58 (1937) 320-328; id., "Epicurean Suavitas," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd Ser., 32 (1938) Section 2, 41-48.

<sup>27</sup> S.V. 28, οὐτε τοὺς προχείρους εἰς φίλιν οὐτε τοὺς ὀκνηροὺς δοκιμαστοῦν· δεῖ δὲ καὶ παρακινδυνεῖσαι χάριν, χάριν φιλίας.

<sup>28</sup> S.V. 34, οὐχ οὕτως χρεῖαν ἔχομεν τῆς χρεῖας παρὰ τῶν φίλων ὥς τῆς πίστωσης τῆς περὶ τῆς χρεῖας.

<sup>29</sup> S.V. 39, οὐδ' ὁ τὴν χρεῖαν ἐπιζητῶν διὰ παντὸς φίλος, οὐδ' ὁ μὴδέποτε συνάπτων· ὁ μὲν γὰρ καπηλεύει τῇ χάριτι τὴν ἀμοιβήν, ὁ δὲ ἀποκόπτει τὴν περὶ τοῦ μελλόντος ἐὐελπιστίαν. Cf. Philodemus, *περὶ παρηγορίας*, 28 and 15, 6 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Diog. Laert., 10. 11; see note 37.

<sup>31</sup> Plut., *Philosophandum esse cum principibus*, 3, p. 778c (Us.544), . . . τοῦ εὖ πάσχειν τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν οὐ μόνον κάλλιον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἥδιον εἶναι . . .

<sup>32</sup> See Cornelius Nepos, *Atticus*.

<sup>33</sup> S.V. 52, see note 42; cf. Diogenes Oenoandensis, XXIV, col. 2.

<sup>34</sup> Cicero, *De Fin.*, 2. 79.

<sup>35</sup> Diog. Laert., 10. 120b, καὶ τὴν φιλίαν διὰ τὰς χρεῖας· δεῖν μὲντοι προκατάρχεσθαι (καὶ γὰρ τὴν γῆν σπεύρομεν) συνίστασθαι δὲ αὐτὴν κατὰ κοινωνίαν ἐν τοῖς ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐκπεληρωμένοις.

<sup>36</sup> Cicero, *De Fin.*, 1. 65. See DeWitt, N. W., "Epicurean Contubernium," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 67 (1936) 55-63.

<sup>37</sup> Diog. Laert., 10. 11, τὸν τε Ἐπίκουρον μὴ ἀξιοῦν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν καταλθεῖν τὰς οὐσίας, καθάπερ τὸν Πιθαγόραν κοινὰ τὰ φίλων λέγοντα· ἀπιστοῦντων γὰρ εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον· εἰ δ' ἀπιστῶν οὐδὲ φίλων.

<sup>38</sup> R.S. 40, ὅσοι τὴν δύναμιν ἔσχον τοῦ θαρρεῖν μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν ὁμοιοῦντων παρασκευάσασθαι, οὗτοι καὶ ἐβίωσαν μετ' ἀλλήλων ἡδιστα τὰ βεβαίωτατον πιστωμα ἔχοντες, καὶ πληρεστάτην οἰκειότητα ἀπολαφόντες οὐκ ὠδύραντο ὥς πρὸς ἑλέον τὴν τοῦ τελευτήσαντος προκαταστροφὴν.

<sup>39</sup> Diog. Laert., 10. 6, τὴν μυστικὴν ἐκείνην συνδιαγωγὴν.

<sup>40</sup> Diog. Laert., 10. 9.

<sup>41</sup> Diog. Laert., 10. 9.

<sup>42</sup> S.V. 52, ἡ φιλία περιχορεύει τὴν οἰκουμένην κηρύτ-

## VESTALIA

Carmella DiLeonardo—Lillian Hadley

ON JUNE 14, 1946, at Steinmetz High School, Chicago, the Latin Club under the direction of the sponsor, Mrs. Lillian Hadley, presented a most successful program. Since a Roman Wedding is one of the most interesting of subjects to all classes, girls or boys (and why not?), this made-to-order program is offered as a Valentine number that may be a prelude to June. The order of Mrs. Hadley's program was as follows:

- I. The Little Vestal Virgin (Lillian Lawler)
- II. The Tardy Vestal (Lillian Lawler)
- III. The Vestalia (Carmella DiLeonardo-Lillian Hadley)
- IV. A Roman Wedding (Lange-Lawler-Wayman-Hadley)

Appropriate music, such as "I Love You Truly," "O Promise Me," "At Dawning" and Mendelssohn's "Wedding March", added to the enjoyment of the large and enthusiastic audience.

Perhaps there are other teachers who have dramatized the ceremony of the Vestalia. For those who do not have their own version, the one written by Mrs. Hadley and Miss DiLeonardo should prove a welcome addition to the ever popular "Roman Wedding." (R.F.J.)

## THE VESTALIA

NARRATOR: On June 7 the Penus Vestae, or inner shrine of the temple of Vesta in the Forum, which was closed the rest of the year, was thrown open to all matrons. During the seven following days they crowded to it barefoot. The object was to pray for a blessing on the household. Offerings of food were carried into the temple;

the Vestals offered the sacred cakes made of the first ears of corn; bakers and millers kept holiday; all mills were garlanded, and donkeys were decorated with wreaths and cakes.

On June 15 the temple was swept and the refuse taken away. As soon as the last act of cleansing had been performed, the 15th itself became *fastus*; that is, a day on which judicial and civil business might be transacted.

During the Vestalia the store houses and barns were cleaned and purified before the completion of the harvest. This corresponds to our week of spring housecleaning.

## Curtain

VALERIA: Cornelia, next year you will be going to the Temple of Vesta on June 7 to celebrate the Vestalia. I remember the first time I went to the temple on the Vestalia. Remember the object of the Vestalia is to pray for a blessing on our household.

CORNELIA: This is really a holiday, isn't it, mother?

VALERIA: Yes. The bakers and millers have closed their shops.

CORNELIA: The mills and the donkeys are decorated with garlands and wreaths.

VALERIA: The Vestals will offer the sacred cakes made of the first ears of corn.

CORNELIA: Oh! Look, mother, the head Vestal and the other Vestals are on their way to the temple.

VALERIA: Now I must hurry to the temple with our offering of food.

## Temple

The Vestals place the sacred cakes on the altar.

VESTALS:

The costliest sacrifice that wealth can make

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(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 355)

ταῦτα δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐγγίψασθαι ἐπὶ τὸν μακαρισμὸν. Cf. Diog. Oen., II, coll. 3-6 and XXIV, col. 2.

The translation of the last term which stems from a version by N. W. DeWitt is designed to express the two ideas of praising and blessedness implicit in the word.

<sup>43</sup> S.V. 36; Diog. Laert., 10. 9-10.

## The Latin Riddle Poets of the Middle Ages

*Guessing Verses—as old as Latin, as new as English*

**R**IDDLES have been a source of entertainment from the earliest times. Among the Greeks there prevailed a custom of propounding riddles at certain religious festivals, while at banquets such practice formed an ordinary diversion. Writers of both tragic and comic drama introduced riddles into their plays.

The Romans cared less for riddles than did the Greeks. Since the Romans, however, followed the mode of the Greeks in many instances, they, in the course of time, very naturally introduced riddling as a means of entertainment after a banquet. Notwithstanding the apparent lack of interest in riddles among the Romans, it is from the Latin writer Symphosius that we have a complete collection of ancient riddles.

Symphosius has been the subject of much critical effort. In 1722, Heumann raised the doubt that any such person as Symphosius ever existed, and consistent with his theory, he attributed the one hundred enigmas of Symphosius to Lactantius.<sup>1</sup> Scholars showed Heumann to be in error, but there still remained to them the problem of coming to some conclusion as to the period during which Symphosius flourished. Best authorities now place him in the late fourth or the early fifth century.<sup>2</sup>

Each of Symphosius' one hundred riddles consists of three verses written in Latin hexameter. Although the riddles belong to an age when Christianity already prevailed there is no indication in the subject matter that the author is a Christian. He deals with

common animals, plants, flowers, vegetables, tools and implements of domestic use, and articles of clothing and personal adornment. In his composition he manifests wit and grace, here and there working in a phrase from Ovid or Horace. The resulting enigmas are sometimes easy to solve, sometimes difficult.

According to Raymond Theodore Ohl, who edited the riddles, Symphosius is excellent in his Latinity, departing in no wise from the classical norm. His prosody, too, is quite correct. A thoughtful study of the riddles shows the author's skill in the use of rime, assonance, alliteration, and word play. From among many, a few examples will suffice to illustrate how Symphosius made use of these devices.

Rime frequently occurs between the first syllable of the fourth foot and the last syllable of the final foot of a line. In some cases, the last syllables of the three verses rime.

### XX. TESTUDO

Tarda, gradu lento, specioso praedita dorso;  
Docta quidem studio, sed saevo prodita fato,  
Viva nihil dixi, quae sic modo mortua canto.

The first line of Riddle LIV, AMUS, affords an example of assonance.

Exiguum munus flexu mucronis adunci.

The second verse of Riddle V, CATENA, illustrates the use of alliteration.

Vincior ipsa prius, sed vincio vincta vicissim. Riddle XCIII, MILES PODAGRICUS, plays on the word *pedis*.

Bellipotens olim, saevis metuendus in armis,

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Quinque pedis habui, quod numquam nemo negavit.

Nunc mihi vix duo sunt; inopem me copia fecit.<sup>3</sup>

Symphosius set the standards for the later riddle poets of the Middle Ages. Frederick Tupper says that the enigmas of Symphosius have dominated all riddles, both artistic and popular, since his day.<sup>4</sup> Traces of Symphosius' influence, in subject matter rather than in literary devices, can be found in the tales of the Middle Ages. Alcuin showed his knowledge of the Riddles by paraphrasing some of them in his *Disputatio inter Pippinum et Alcuinum*. Alcuin likewise has some enigmas among his verse writings.<sup>5</sup> The sixty-three anonymous riddles of the Berner collection, though quite original, take certain subjects from Symphosius. In the ascetical writings doubtfully attributed to Venerable Bede, there are at least five riddles of Symphosius. These are not taken over verbatim although there are but few changes.<sup>6</sup> The Anglo-Saxon riddles of the Exeter Book also show indebtedness to Symphosius.

With the death of Symphosius, the Latin enigma declined in popularity until four centuries later, when it was introduced into England by Aldhelm of Malesbury, Bishop of Sherbourne (640-709). Aldhelm is the first notable Latin riddle poet after Symphosius, and his best poetry is undoubtedly a collection of one hundred Latin riddles, modeled as to subject matter on Symphosius and on the Berner collection.

Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* are found in his *Epistola ad Acircium* or *Liber de Septenario et de Metris*, a treatise on metrical composition written in 695. The treatise forms a prose preface to the riddles. In it, Aldhelm quotes as precedents to his riddles the Biblical story of the thistle and the cedar of Lebanon, the verse enigmas of Symphosius, and the prose riddles of Aristotle. In order to justify himself for giving the gift of speech and human sentiments to things speechless, he refers to the Scriptures. He points out that the trees of the wood met to choose a king; that the Psalmist gave life to the hills; that riddles are to be found in Ecclesiastes.<sup>7</sup>

Aldhelm does not follow Symphosius in

adhering to the three-line riddle. His riddles vary in length from four to eighty-three verses. Aldhelm likewise becomes more poetic in his descriptions, thus hindering the immediate solution of the puzzle. The material of his riddles belongs to the kingdom of nature—animals, plants, stones, and stars. Each subject speaks its own description—the locust, dove, dagger, trumpet, camel, eagle. Some of these objects were known to Aldhelm through experience; others were known only through books.

While his work is not notably clerical, Aldhelm shows a Christian influence. In the prologue of the riddles he insists that he does not want to know anything about heathen things.<sup>8</sup>

Tatwine, Archbishop of Canterbury,<sup>9</sup> (d. 734), was the next riddler to follow Aldhelm. Among other works, he wrote forty riddles in Latin hexameter. Ingenuity is prominent in Tatwine's riddles. They are preceded by a prologue of two verses. The first line of this prologue is made up of the initial letters of the first verses of the riddles, while the second verse of the prologue consists of the final letters. Use of the acrostic in this period was common.

Tatwine gives a greater number of clues to his riddles than Aldhelm does. His riddles deal with abstract subjects, showing their author to be a grammarian and a philosopher. Tatwine's first riddle is an enthusiastic praise of philosophy. That his choice of material was not always suitable is evident from the second riddle, where he treats of the historical, literal, moral, and allegorical interpretations of the Bible.

Many of Tatwine's riddles show a Christian coloring. Number II deals with faith, hope, and charity; XIV, charity; XXII, Adam; XXIII, the threefold death; XXIV, humility and pride. He includes concrete objects of Christianity by producing seven riddles on bells, the altar, the cross of Christ, the pulpit, and the paten.

Tatwine's language, largely abstract and difficult to understand, is measured entirely by his way of thinking. Compared with Aldhelm, he is inferior in the handling of lan-



guage. In prosody, however, he is superior to Aldhelm. Like Aldhelm's, Tatwine's riddles are of various lengths; twenty-two have five verses each; nine, four verses each; seven, six verses each; and two have seven and twelve verses respectively.

Tatwine's riddles were supplemented by those of Eusebius,<sup>10</sup> who has been identified with Hwaethberht, Abbot of Wearmouth (d. 747). Eusebius wrote sixty riddles, which, when joined with those of Tatwine, make the number one hundred, traditional from Symphosius and Aldhelm.

The sixty riddles of Eusebius-Hwaethberht may be considered in two divisions according to the subject matter. The first forty deal with both abstract and concrete subjects. God and the devil, virtues and vices, wind and fire, fire and water, earth and sea, death and life, humility and pride—all are introduced in a new kind of treatment. Eusebius also originated the use of letters of the alphabet as objects of riddles.

It is to be noted that Eusebius manifests his Christian attitude by putting religious objects into the first of his riddles. These first forty riddles, with one exception, consist of four verses each.

### *Animal Riddles*

The last twenty riddles follow a different trend. Here wild animals are used as objects. Eusebius had the not-too-happy idea of borrowing his descriptions almost word for word from Isidor, and as a result a reader must take Isidor's works in hand in order to solve the riddles. There are a greater number of faults in prosody to be found in this second division of riddles. The riddles of this group vary in length from four to thirteen verses.

With Tatwine and Eusebius, all available objects have been introduced into riddle poetry. A transition has been gradually taking place from concrete to abstract subject matter. Boniface, the last riddle poet of the period,<sup>11</sup> turned entirely to abstract material. By his complete adoption of abstract subject matter, he established a close union between riddle and didactic poetry.

Boniface (d. 755), of German missionary fame, has left twenty riddles of Christian-moral content. Ten virtues form the material for ten riddles and ten vices for ten more riddles. These double riddles of varying lengths portray the special characteristics of the virtues and the vices, with many garnishings from the Bible. The work runs too far into the field of theology to be of interest to the general reader. Boniface, however, was undoubtedly pleased with his own efforts, for in a twenty-line prologue, he dedicates the work to a "Sister," possibly Leobgyth, saying that he is sending her ten golden apples which he has picked from the tree of life, with the hope that their sweetness will give her a foretaste of heaven.

The form of Boniface's riddles deserve notice. The solution is generally given as an acrostic, without, however, permitting the number of letters in the answer to interfere with the length of the riddle. A key word is used to direct attention to the word of solution.

Boniface is the last of the poets who contributed to the riddle poetry of the Middle Ages. By some critics he is scarcely regarded as a legitimate riddler, mainly because his subject matter and treatment are didactic. He may, nevertheless, be considered the last follower of Symphosius, through Aldhelm.

The Latin riddle poetry of England may be traced through the space of a century in the works of the ecclesiastics Aldhelm, Tatwine, Eusebius, and Boniface. Their names, joined with that of Symphosius in fourth-century Italy, establish the history of medieval Latin riddle poetry.

#### *Selections from the Latin riddle poets:*

##### SYMPHOSIUS.<sup>12</sup> VII. FUMUS

Sunt mihi, sunt lacrimae, sed non est causa doloris.  
Est iter ad caelum, sed me gravis impedit aer;  
Et que me genuit sine me non nascitur ipse.

##### XVIII. COCLEA

Porto domum mecum, semper migrare parata,  
Mutatoque solo non sum miserabilis exul,  
Sed mihi concilium de caelo nascitur ipso.

## XXV. MUS

Parva mihi domus est sed ianua semper aperta.  
Exiguo sumptu furtiva vivo sagina.  
Quod mihi nomen inest, Romae quoque consul  
habebat.

## LXXX. TINTINNABULUM

Aere rigens curvo patulum conponor in orbem.  
Mobilis est intus linguae crepitantis imago.  
Non resono positus, motus quoque saepe resulto.

ALDH elm.<sup>13</sup> II. VENTUS

Cernere me nulli possunt nec prendere palmis,  
Argutum vocis crepitum cito pando per orbem.  
Viribus horronis valeo confringere quercus;  
Nam superos ego pulso polos et rura peragro.

## XXII. ACOLANTIDA

Vox mea diversis variatur pulcra figuris,  
Raucisonis numquam modulabor carmina rostris;  
Spurca colore tamen, sed non sum sprete canendo:  
Sic non cesso canens fato terrente futuro;  
Nam me bruma fugat, sed mox aestate redibo.

## LXIV. COLUMBA

Cum Deus infandas iam plecteret aequore noxas  
Ablueretque simul scelerum contagia limphis,  
Prima praecepti complevi iussa parentis  
Portendens fructu terris venisse salutem.  
Mitia quapropter semper praecordia gesto  
Et felix praepes nigro sine felle manebo.

TATWINE.<sup>14</sup> 7. DE TINTINO

Olim dictabar proprio sub nomine Caesar,  
Optabantque meum procures jam cernere vultum.  
Nunc aliter versor superis suspensus in auris,  
Et caesus cogor late persolvere planctum,  
Cursibus haud tardis quum ad luctum turba  
recurrat.  
Mordeo mordentem labris mox dentibus absque.

## 26. DE QUINQUE SENSIBUS

Nos quini vari fratres sub nomine templum  
Concessum nobis colimus constanter ab ortu.  
Nam thuris segetem fero fercula et ille saporis,  
Hic totum praesens affert tangi, ille videndum,  
Ast laetam quintus famam tristemque ministrat.

EUSEBIUS.<sup>15</sup> 9. DE ALPHA

Dux ego linguarum resonans et prima per orbem

Dicor, et unum, quingentos, vel mille, figuro.  
Atque vocari primus per me coepit Adamus,  
Do domina linguae pueris me vim resonare.

## 24. DE MORTE ET VITA

Binae non sumus, una sed est flens, maesta tenebris;  
Altera per severat tam lucida laetaque semper.  
Quum me plus homines instant conquirere tristem  
Illa laetifica pereunt quae lumine ridet.\*  
(\*laetificet)

## 44. DE PANTHERA

Foedera multigenis reddens animantibus orbis  
Trux ego valde draconi sic erit aemulus ipse.  
Me genetrix gestans alium generare nequibit,  
Et genitor dicor si littera tertia cedat.

BONIFACE.<sup>16</sup> DE VERITATE

Vincere me nulli possunt sed perdere multi.  
Est tamen et mirum Christi quod sedibus adsto  
Regnans et gaudens superis cum civibus una  
Incola sed quaerens germanam rura peragro  
Terras quam plures fantur liquisse nefandas  
Amplius in sceptris mundi jam degere nolo  
Sanctam merendo propria nunc nacta sorore,  
Antiquus vates cecinit quod carmine David,  
In terris vanos homines me virgine dempta  
Trans ubi semper eram fugiens nunc sidera  
scandam.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Patrologia Latina*, 7. 289.

<sup>2</sup> R. T. Ohl, *The Enigmas of Symphosius*, 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-20.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Patrologia*, 101, 802.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 94. 543-48.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 89. 171.

<sup>8</sup> A. J. Wyatt, *Old English Riddles*, Introduction, p. xviii.

<sup>9</sup> M. Manitius, *Geschichte der Christlich-lateinischen Poesie bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 502 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 503.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 506 ff.

<sup>12</sup> R. T. Ohl, *The Enigmas of Symphosius*, 40, 50, 58, 110.

<sup>13</sup> J. H. Pitman, *The Riddles of Aldhelm*, 4, 12, 36.

<sup>14</sup> J. A. Giles, ed., *Anecdota Bedae, Lanfranci, et Aliorum*, 27, 31.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 55, 58, 61.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 21

# LANX SATURA

Quidquid agunt homines,  
votum timor ira voluptas  
gaudia discursus, nostri  
farrago libelli est.

## The Syntax of Truth

SOMEWHERE James Branch Cabell suggests that man's inordinate vanity has created the fiction of the Evil One inventing all sorts of lures, enticements, and traps to keep his sinful business going. Instead of having to pursue man, Mr. Cabell implies, Satan is the one entrepreneur who does not need to go out after his customers.

Somewhat the converse of this contrary-to-fact condition may be observable in connection with Truth. The pursuit of Truth is traditionally held up as the primary occupation of philosophers and philologists. The graduate student is encouraged in the belief that he is being admitted to a sort of Round Table from which knights go off on periodic sorties after Truth, with success going to him whose strength is as the strength of ten because his scholarship is pure.

But really we wonder if the Pursuit of Truth is not misconstrued grammatically. It is commonly taken to be an objective genitive, but may it not be a subjective genitive? Perhaps it is Truth that is pursuing the scholar, and only his delight in self-dramatization prevents him from recognizing who is really being pursued.

## The Strategy of Translations

WE CONFESS to increasing uneasiness as we read denunciations of courses in classical authors in translation. Those who oppose such courses seem to us to be making a last stand for an isolated pill-box while ignoring the broad strategic plan for the battle of the Classics.

The larger strategy must surely be this: In the area of study commonly called the "Classics" we have the records of fifteen hundred years of human experience. Greek and Roman civilization reached the highest level of cultural development in the history of the race

previous to our own time. In more ways than even classicists realize, ours is a classical culture. Since the inseparable relation between education and culture must ever be recognized, a person ignorant of the major aspects of classical civilization cannot be regarded as educated. While the arguments for the study of Latin and Greek are weighty indeed, one cannot argue that the records of classical civilization must be a closed book to those who cannot read them in the original. One of the curious trends of today is the stubborn interest of educated people in Greek and Roman civilization in spite of the rather common reluctance of classicists to gratify that interest. If classicists are not willing to interpret the significance of their area of competence to the average student and the general public, then someone else will. *And that is just what is happening.*

Who, then, is going to act as interpreter—the trained classicist or the expert in general education working from secondary or tertiary sources?

## Whose Translations?

AS LONG ago as 1920, John Erskine pointed out that opponents of courses in translations of the Classics would logically forbid the reading of the Bible if their attitude were consistently carried out. We do not hear it claimed that the Bible can be read only in Greek and in Hebrew. On the contrary, it is commonly felt that one of the great achievements of the Renaissance was the translation of the Bible into the vernacular languages.

A somewhat more subtle point seems to have been omitted thus far from the argument, viz. that much of the harm done to the prestige of the Classics in the past two generations is the product of the student's use of translations—his own third and fourth rate translations. Only the student of exceptional proficiency reads the Latin or Greek text in

the original, once his original homework stint has been done. Rather, he uses the passage set forth on the examination as a series of cues for his own poor laborious translations, half-memorized. He judges the Classics by his own English versions; that is to say, something stylistically akin to "Ferdinand the Bull" on Page 184 of our December issue.

### What Values?

BY THESE presents we do not wish to suggest that there are not valid and urgent reasons for the study of the Latin and Greek languages. But we do suggest that the philosophy of teaching in the area of the Classics is badly confused, and that close systematic thinking of the kind traditionally associated with the Classics is needed.

The same kind of thinking is needed in the humanistic area generally. It is worth remembering that rhetoric is part of the humanistic tradition, and that rhetoric is often more concerned with the making of points than with systematic argument. Indeed, it carries with it not a little of the practise of making the poorer reason appear the better. For all his *eloquentia* and *humanitas*, Cicero was still an extraordinarily able court-room lawyer. The argument for the humanities is frequently an accumulation of points and commonplaces, all plausible but seldom systematic, inherited from Platonism, Stoicism, Aristotle and the Scholastics, Puritanism, Neoplatonism, the Romantic movement, Victorian piety, and even the pre-Raphaelites.

Within the conventional after-dinner appeal for the humanities, one may not infrequently find points that are entirely contradictory when they are traced back to their original contexts. "Values" inevitably appear in the brief for the humanities. What Values? Whose Values? Are they Platonic? Or are they purely emotional? Do Plato and Keats belong together in the same logical structure?

While one might be hard pressed to determine what the humanist really means (as a semanticist might put the question), it often seems that the chief alleged value of reading the Classics in the original is to gain an appreciation of the style of the original, which is

a matter of emotional and aesthetic appeal.

The question of aesthetic appreciation is a matter that has been gone into at some length by Chancellor Hutchins, one of America's foremost humorists. Since the aim of instruction in lyric poetry and other matters which involve the emotional-aesthetic appeal is to make shivers run up and down the students' spines—this is as good a description of the effects of lyric style as any other—Chancellor Hutchins suggests that it would be cheaper to dispense with the tutorial staff in literature and hire a squad of chiropractors.

While this is perhaps a scarcely practical suggestion, it does raise the question of whether the imparting of aesthetic pleasure is a valid educational objective. We do not believe that it is. We believe that there are better reasons for the study of the Classics in or out of translations, and for the study of Latin and Greek, than any yet advanced. And we believe that the study of the Classics can be supported by logic better than it is now supported by verbalism.

### The Dyspeptic Editor

A WISE physician once informed us that, come the middle of March, he always laid in a supply of atropine and bismuth and other pellets soothing to the human digestive system—because at this time of year, the school teachers come clamoring for relief. As he explained it, in spring a livelier iris may change on the burnish'd dove, but the school teacher gets a nervous upset. School seems to have been going on forever, and June is oh, so far away.

Since the writer of these comments is both a teacher and an editor, this would seem to be an excusable season of the year for a few dyspeptic remarks on the subject of the Graduate School.

Much is being said these days about reforming the Graduate School. Well, the first reform we insist upon is the introduction of a course in the Preparation of Manuscripts. In this course we should like to see imparted the information that good quality bond paper is relatively inexpensive, and that there is really no need for learned writers to see how much



they can put on one sheet. Besides, running over the edges of the paper is bad for the typewriter roller. There have been times, indeed, when we have felt that some of our contributors have missed their calling; they should devote their unmistakable genius to writing popular religious and political documents on grains of rice or the heads of pins.

We are sure that the editors of all learned magazines would welcome a rule that authors should try to put only 225 words on a sheet of paper. This one rule would save hours of work for each editor.

Another practice we should like to denounce, before we reach for the bicarbonate of soda, is the habit of writing footnotes in single space. This is a habit carried over from freshman research papers and doctoral dissertations; all very well if the typed manuscript is as far as the thing is to go, but second only to paleographical study as a source

of exasperation and eyestrain to the editor. What is worse, it makes hard work for the printer—and that costs money.

Footnotes accompanying an article for publication should be typed at least double space. Indeed, if there must be single space typing (and we hope not!), it had better be in the general text where few revisions and corrections are necessary; the notes and references require more editorial tinkering than all the rest of the manuscript put together. But a sound and simple rule would be: *no single space typing anywhere in a manuscript intended for publication.*

P.S. To the two amazing authors who, during our editorship, have gone so far as to look up and to follow the style of this magazine before typing their manuscripts, we hereby award a golden crown to be presented at the next Dionysia, and the privileges of free beer in the Prytaneum for life.

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### —Liber Animalium

## SIMIUS ISTE

**D**IC, o bone, quid vult hic tantus concursus ad tramviam? Hem! Video te peregrinum esse; expedit. Festinant homines in hortos publicos ad animalia fera spectanda. Ita solent die solis post meridiem cum caelum serenum est calorque iucundus. Etiam nos, si otium est, ascendamus. Ecce! tandem pervenimus. Ante omnes caveas circumstabunt homines frequentes sed maxime ante domum ubi simiae habitant. Eo, si placet, recta ambulemus. Hic est concursus hilarissimus. Specta spectatores ipsos. Omnes rident; oculi micant. Intuentes enim simias se ipsos velut in speculo vident. Similes sunt aures, oculi, nares, etiamsi obtusae. Etiam binas palpebras habent sicut homines. Nuces vobis, inquiunt homines dum nucem traiciunt. Nuces vobis ipsis, cogitant simiae, imitationem sui ipsorum perfectam intuentes. Bene quidem scripsit Ennius ille, poeta nobilissimus:

*Simia quam similis turpissima bestia nobis.*

Omnibus in nobis certo est aliquid simiae. Praecipue pueri ex se simias facile faciunt. Puellas parum decet.

*Monkey* nomen partim Latinum partim Anglicum est. Primum *mea domina* fit *mia donna*, deinde locutione celeri *monna*, quod est Italianum. Inde in linguam Francogallicam tralatum *monne* scriptum est, unde prior syllaba *mon-key* nominis oritur. Sermonem vero cotidiano illud *monne* significavit mulierculam vetulam rugosamque, quae notio Romanis quoque placuerat, apud quos forma feminina semper anteponebatur. Posterior syllaba *-key* diminutiva est atque aliquid multum amatum significant sicut *donkey*. Scilicet et aselli et simiae hominum universorum benevolentia fruuntur.

ANON.

## —Classroom

## "SCHNITZELBANK" IN LATIN

WE ARE INDEBTED to Miss Mary Virginia Clarke of Southeast High School Kansas City, for the following version of "Schnitzelbank" in Latin. If you are not familiar with the tune, you will very probably find it in song-books for community singing (for rather masculine singers), and it may be had in regular sheet form published by the Willis Music Company of Cincinnati. Miss Clarke tells us that she has a large chart with pictures in pairs, large enough to be visible all over the room. One pupil is selected to act as song-leader, and points to the proper picture and asks the questions in the song. The leader must also point to each picture in the right order when the refrain is sung, which is a task requiring considerable skill and often causing much merriment. Lacking a chart, a class may draw small rectangles on the board, each with a key noun and adjective in it, to be pointed at by the leader.

Estne illud animal?  
Certe id est animal!

I

Estne illud acer bos?  
Certe id est acer bos!  
Estne illud pulcher flos?  
Certe id est pulcher flos!

Refrain:

Acer bos, pulcher flos, animal,  
Animal, mehercle, animal.

2

Estne illud notus fons?  
Certe id est notus fons!  
Estne illud altus mons?  
Certe id est altus mons!

Refrain:

Acer bos, pulcher flos,  
Altus mons, notus fons,

Pulcher flos, acer bos, animal,  
Animal, mehercle, animal.

3

Estne illud albus sal?  
Certe id est albus sal!  
Estne illud clarus sol?  
Certe id est clarus sol!

Refrain:

Clarus sol, albus sal,  
Altus mons, notus fons,  
Pulcher flos, acer bos,  
Animal, animal,  
Mehercle, mehercle,  
Animal.

4

Key words: audax rex, sacra grex.  
Add these to refrain and repeat.

5

Grata lux, piger sus.

6

Fortis dux, nova crux.

7

Dulcis res, parvus pes.

8

Dolens dens, nostra gens.

9

Atra nox, clara vox

Final refrain:

Atra nox, clara vox,  
Nostra gens, dolens dens,  
Dulcis res, parvus pes,  
Fortis dux, nova crux,  
Grata lux, piger sus,  
Audax rex, sacra grex,  
Clarus sol, albus sal,  
Altus mons, notus fons,  
Pulcher flos, acer bos,  
Animal, animal,  
Mehercle, mehercle,  
Animal.

# THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK

*A department for the discussion of classroom theory and practise, and the exchange of practical teaching ideas, conducted under the direction of the Committee of Educational Policy of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. Teachers are urged to forward items of general interest based on their own experience to the Editorial Representative of the Committee, Mrs. Ruth F. Joedicke, Mary Institute, Clayton 5, Missouri.*

## An Hour With The Delphic Oracle

Mabel F. Arbuthnot  
Texas State College for Women

IN KEEPING with an attempt to have programs at the same time entertaining and instructive, the Patrician Club of the Texas State College for Women staged "An Hour with the Delphic Oracle." The idea should work equally well with older or younger groups, whether Latin students or not.

A blanket was hung across the corner of the room, and in front of it was placed a "tripod" (i.e. a stool from the chemistry department). Incense of an inexpensive variety was burned under the stool, and the room was lighted only by candles.

The Sibyl was dressed in a sheet, with a "laurel" wreath on her head; the priest's robe was arranged to cover "his" head.

The introductory talk was something like this:

"As you read on your invitation, we are going to have an hour with the Delphic Oracle. In case there is some one here who does not know what that means, let me explain.

"An oracle is a place where a god, usually Zeus or Apollo, communicates with mortals—gives advice and answers questions—through the medium of inspired priests and priestesses. The answers themselves are also called oracles.

"The most famous oracle of antiquity was that of Apollo at Delphi. Delphi was a little Greek town at the foot of Mount Parnassus,

the mountain of the Muses. You can still visit the ruins of it when you go to Greece. Halfway up Mount Parnassus there was a cleft in the rocks, and from this cleft rose fumes, which caused those who breathed them to go into fits or convulsions or something of the sort. While in this condition they were thought to be inspired by Apollo, and they uttered queer noises, which could not be understood by the ordinary person.

"The fumes were probably of volcanic origin, but the Greeks said they came from the body of a snake which Apollo had killed there, and all through the centuries the body continued to decay. If you noticed a strange odor when you came into the room, now you know what it was. We are trying to imitate the odor of a decaying snake.

"At Delphi, in historical times, the Greeks had a beautiful marble temple to Apollo, built over the cleft in the earth. Right over the place where the fumes came out was a tripod, and on the tripod sat a priestess called a Sibyl. She breathed the fumes, chewed laurel sacred to Apollo, and went into a fit of inspiration. This was the time for the suppliant to ask his questions.

"Sure enough, in due time the Sibyl began to utter sounds which only the priests of the temple could interpret. They listened carefully, and when she had finished they withdrew and wrote out in hexameters the mes-

sage of Apollo, which was then delivered to the inquirer.

"Some of the responses of the Sibyl in antiquity were not very clear; I hope she will do better tonight.

"We are especially fortunate this evening in having with us a Sibyl from the shrine of Delphi. We are equally lucky in having a priest, for without him we could get no help from the Sibyl's words. This priest will listen carefully to what she says, retire behind the blanket, and, in no time at all, will emerge with the response written out in poetry for you.

"I will now ask the Sibyl to climb up on the tripod, breathe the fumes, and chew on this laurel which I give her. I now turn the session over to the priest."

Needless to say, the responses had all been prepared beforehand. Behind the blanket was a helper, who listened while the priest repeated the question to the Sibyl and, while the Sibyl was in her convulsion, picked out the answer, which she gave to the priest as soon as "he" retired behind the blanket.

The priest would come out and say, for instance, "With regard to your question about finding a room, the Sibyl says,

'Oh foolish maiden, what a dumb idea;  
You'd better just forget the thing, my dear!'"

The success of the stunt was due in large part to the priest. She coaxed the girls to ask their questions, she admonished the Sibyl, made jokes of local interest, and in general held the performance together. Both Sibyl and priest should be carefully selected.

Here are the verses which we had prepared. It was amazing how they would fit almost any question, from "Will I graduate in June?" to "Is my boy friend sincere?"

Your fortune is made if you follow this track;  
But once you have started, never turn back.

Something before me rises heavy as lead;  
The fog is thick, and dark the way ahead.

Wild are your words, and wilder still your thought;

Full many a battle's lost before it's fought.

Stranger things than this have often been;  
Just make the effort and you're sure to win.

You shouldn't think about such things as yet;  
Just live from day to day and never fret.

Don't strive for honors greater than you should;  
The humblest way will often turn out good.

It's never wise to choose the easier way,  
It's lots of good hard work that wins the day.

I see success and glory waiting round the bend,  
But many an hour of labor before you reach the end.

A woman should learn how to cook a biscuit  
Or else stay single—and not dare to risk it.

How can Apollo, even with all his brains,  
Tell mortals how to conquer all their pains.

If you would be a bright success some day,  
Beware of every man who comes your way.

A student's mind must never be distracted  
By thoughts of men to whom she is attracted.

I wouldn't go too far if I were you;  
You wouldn't either, if you only knew.

A long year hence and you will know  
That what they tell you isn't so.

Some news will come when least expected,  
But if it's bad, don't be dejected.

Be sure that's what you want to do,  
Or else the whole idea you'll rue.

First you must turn about and mend your ways,  
And then you'll live in happiness all your days.

A hidden secret lurks within your heart;  
Confess the truth, and your success will start.

Dry those sweet eyes and stop the tears from falling,  
The humblest job can be a noble calling.

The odds are in your favor, but beware;  
To tempt the fates so strongly—do you dare?

Just be good; you'll never need to worry;  
But even so—it might be well to hurry.

Oh, what ideas a little girl can get!  
This is the funniest I've heard yet.

This life is short, I know as well as you  
And there's a limit to what men should do.

Such things are oft forbidden to our knowing,  
But I see sunshine in the way you're going.



Your hopes are quite well-founded is my guess;  
Your boldness shocks me, though, I must confess.

Long have you thought, and long you still must  
think;

Don't leap too quickly over the dangerous brink.

I cannot say, but this I will declare:  
The clouds are lifting and the sky is fair.

Both yes and no seem wise enough to me,  
But watch your step, or you will sorry be.

Hold up your head, and all your charms employ;  
Just close your eyes and think of Helen of Troy.

Matters like this are deep and dark to fathom;  
My only counsel is—just up and at 'em.

The ways of men and gods are past our knowl-  
edge,  
But anything can happen in this college.

Life is short and life is fleeting;  
There's more to it than drinking and eating.

Many a gal who thought she'd found the right  
spot,  
Has stopped to consider, and found it was a tight  
spot!

Oh foolish maiden, what a dumb ideal!  
You'd better just forget it all, my dear.

The other girls will wonder if you're crazy,  
And even I think you're a little hazy.

The road is long, and quite an up-hill grade;  
Be sure your ticket's, bought and fare all paid.

Your plans are frail and fragile as a bubble;  
Pull in your sails or you are in for trouble.

Have you forgot how very short is life?  
It's very nice to be somebody's wife.

I see a tall dark stranger at your gate;  
You'd better think before it is too late.

Friends will come and friends will go, I fear;  
But never yield an inch in your career.

Up to a certain point, it might be good to do,  
But if you go too far—I pity you.

Tread cautiously, and on no one's toes,  
For whether friend or enemy—who knows?

The future is as clear as day to me;  
I tell you, you are right as right can be.

I cannot say, for Zeus alone  
Controls the ring of your telephone.

You will not have rest or ease,  
Just money enough for bread and cheese.

Spaghetti and meatballs is your lot—  
But it's more than Paris and Helen got.

Comes from the darkness a voice so still:  
If you're sure that's right, do what you will.

Now's the time to go quite slow;  
What's around the bend you'll never know.

Fate decrees that you will be  
Studied about in history.

#### DULCE ET DECORUM EST PRO PATRIA MORI

(Continued from Page 350)

younger generation an unselfish devotion to *patria*, so closely approximate the prophecies of immortality made by the man who died in the effort to save the only *patria* that to him seemed real.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Clement L. Smith, *The Odes and Epodes of Horace* (Boston, 1896) n. ad vs. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Implied by R. S. Conway, *New Studies of a Great Inheritance* (London, 1921) 52-54.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Horace, *Od.* I. 12. 35; II. 1. 24; Vergil, *Aen.* viii, 670.

<sup>4</sup> Vergil extols him indirectly in *Aen.* viii, 668, and perhaps refers to him in *Aen.* i, 151 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Appian (B.C. iv, 51) states that Augustus appointed the young Marcus to the priesthood and also made him consul and later governor of Syria *ἡ ἀπολογία τῆς Κικέρωνος ἐκδόσεως*. The gesture could hardly have satisfied the republicans in view of the somewhat questionable character of the younger Cicero. A better insight into the attitude of the age is perhaps given by the story in Plutarch *Cic.* 49.3, which recounts the nervous attempt at concealment on the part of a grandson of the emperor when the latter surprised him in the act of reading a work of Cicero. There remains the silence of the poets.

<sup>6</sup> *Rep.* 6.13.

<sup>7</sup> *Rep.* 6.26.

<sup>8</sup> W. Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1911) 383-384; 390-391.

<sup>9</sup> *De Senec.* 21.77.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 356)

From the incensed Penates less commands  
A soft response, than doth the poorest  
cake,  
If on the altar laid with spotless hands.

*The women place the offerings of food on the altar.*

WOMEN:

We come to you as matrons, of pure and  
good character

To ask you, Vesta, to bless our households.

VESTALS:

Oh, Vesta, hear them.

Oh, Gods, hear them.

*Curtain*

CORNELIA: Isn't today June 15th, Mother?

VALERIA: Yes. The temple must be swept  
today and then it will be *Fastus*, a day  
when business can be transacted again. I  
must hurry to the temple now.

*Temple*

*The women sweep the temple and carry the  
refuse to throw into the Tiber.*

*Curtain*

NARRATOR: Superstition played an important  
part in the arrangements for a wedding two  
thousand years ago, as it does now. Especial  
pains had to be taken to secure a lucky  
day. The Kalends or the first day of each  
month were sacred to Juno; the Ides or  
thirteenth of each month, except March,  
May, July, and October when the Ides  
were on the fifteenth, were sacred to Jupiter;  
and the Nundinae (ninth day) was the  
market day and the farmers came to town.  
These days and the following day were unlucky.

All of May on account of the Lemuria,  
the Argei, and the Ambarvalia was unlucky.  
The proverb arose: "Bad prove the  
wives that are married in May."

The first half of June was unlucky on account  
of the Vestalia which lasted from  
June 7 to June 15. One third of the year  
was absolutely barred from weddings.

#### HINT OF THE MONTH

In dealing with the verb *mitto* it is difficult to explain the meanings of the compound forms. The ease with which the basic meanings of the prefixes combine with *voco* is misleading when the same procedure is applied to *mitto*. *Convoco* naturally means "call together"; *evoco*, "call out"; *revoco*, "call back," and so on. But it is more difficult to explain *proelium committo* on the basis of *con-mitto*, "send together," especially when *committo* may also be translated "to entrust," "to venture," "to sin," and otherwise, depending on the context. The same difficulties will be found in the case of *intermitto*, *promitto*, *demitto*, and so on.

However, it is easy to explain this difficulty by using the English verb *take* as a parallel. No simple meaning for *take* can be found that will explain its meaning when used in a surprisingly large number of varying combinations.

A boy may take off his hat, but what does an aeroplane take off when it takes off? A student may take his books home, but his parents would be surprised if he took a bus home in the same sense. (Where would they put it?)

A student may take the teacher's remarks down, and sometimes, if the student is too self-confident, the teacher may have to take him down.

It is one thing to overtake someone, and something else to take something over.

It is quite hospitable for a host to take a guest in, but it is entirely different when the guest takes the host in.

One can take sick, but one cannot take well.

One can take THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL, but taking time is not the same as taking TIME.

Much the same demonstration may be made with the verb *get*. We can get along, get sick, get up, get money, get over, and we can "get" a person (as in "I get you!").

And so with *mitto*. The meaning "send" works only with the simple verb; otherwise it has no definite meaning of its own; it merely contributes to a complete meaning when it is used with other words.

# BOOK REVIEWS

## FOLKLORE IN HOMER

CARPENTER, RHYS, *Folk Tale, Fiction, and Saga in the Homeric Epics*: "Sather Classical Lectures," Vol. 20: Berkeley, University of California Press (1946). Pp. 198. \$2.50.

CARPENTER has produced in these lectures a worthy successor to the two preceding Homeric volumes of Sather Lectures, Scott's *Unity of Homer* and Bassett's *Poetry of Homer*, and that is high praise indeed. This work is, however, very different from Scott's in that little time is spent in cunning and laborious demolition of the follies of others, and different from Bassett's in that Carpenter does not greatly concern himself with Homer as a literary artist. On the few occasions when Carpenter does devote much space to literary matters (for instance, 80 ff., where he compares the structure of the *Iliad* with that of an Attic tragedy), he is, I think, not so interesting and successful as elsewhere.

The primary purpose of the book appears to be to turn the eyes of Homerists away from the sunlit seas and palaces of the Minoan and Mycenaean Mediterranean to the dark, bear-haunted forests of northern Europe. Carpenter, while recognizing, of course, that Homer's poetry "refers to the Mycenaean culture," stresses the distinction between "cultural reference" and "cultural context," and emphasizes Homer's ignorance of Mycenaean civilization as it has been revealed by modern archaeology. The element of saga in Homer he admits may be connected with Mycenaean history, but saga is only one of the components of Homeric poetry; moreover, it has been greatly changed in its transmission to Homer. Much of the folk-tale element seems to him to have connections with northern Europe and the fiction to be from Homer's own time and place. Homer is not a Minoan, but a European, poet, and "in order to explore the background and ancestry of Homeric epic we must travel north, not east or south."

The greatest single prize which Carpenter brings back from his northern travels is the theory that the *Odyssey* is greatly indebted to the story of "The Bear's Son," which has also influenced *Beowulf*.

### Refreshing New Ideas

THIS is obviously a refreshing attack on an old subject, and in his discussions Carpenter has been lavish of attractive suggestions and clever argument. Here, I can indicate only a few of the interesting and sometimes startling ideas. The opening pages, on the nature of oral poetry, serve admirably to attract the reader's attention and inform his understanding. We are soon told that the Peisistratan recension of Homer is precious fact and not absurd invention; that the apparently eccentric Vellay has been right all along and Homer did not imagine Troy at Hissarlik (and did not really say that Achilles chased Hector around the walls of Troy). There are original treatments of the *Cypria's* account of the incredible mistaken assault on Teuthrania, of the old tradition that Helen was really in Egypt all the time, and of the new possible equation of the Trojans with the Etruscans. Carpenter shows a welcome tendency to limit the amount of history in Homer and to recognize the impossibility of getting at the historical background of the *Iliad*. His defence of the *Odyssey's* remarks about the island of Pharos, "a day's sail from Egypt," is made with all the ingenuity of Bérard, though some of his other speculations about the geography of the *Odyssey* are rather reminiscent of some of Bérard's less happy visions. Carpenter is even bold enough to attempt to date the Homeric poems quite precisely and suggests 675-650 for the *Iliad* and 625-600 for the *Odyssey*. (They are not, he thinks, by the same man, though each is the work of a single poet.) Hesiod (somewhere between 650 and 575), Archilochus, and the authors of the

*Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are all according to this chronology more or less contemporary. It seems a little odd, if this dating is right, that Solon never met Homer. One would also like to know where Carpenter puts the cyclic poems and the older Homeric hymns.

### *Some Fashionable Fallacies*

CARPENTER does at times present an "unfashionable hypothesis," but his book contains more than one of the fashionable fallacies. He assumes frequently that Homer brought folk-tale motifs into the epic narrative, but this is unproved and unprovable. It is clear and undeniable that the Troy Story (and especially the story of Odysseus) has been influenced by folk tale. There is no evidence whatever that this influence worked directly on Homer or that Homer himself added to the Troy Story one jot of folk-tale material. So, too, when he discusses the fictional element in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Carpenter again and again falls into the fallacy of equating poetical fiction with Homeric invention. Many of the fictional events and characters that Carpenter attributes to Homer may well have been part of Homer's heritage from his predecessors. The zeal to claim many original contributions and inventions for Homer is one quality which Carpenter shares with his distinguished predecessors in the Sather Professorship, Scott and Bassett, though he does not go to their extremes.

It is true that the *Iliad* appears to assume that the heroes who fought at Troy were illiterate, but the fact that no one ever sends a letter home in "nine long years" is hardly relevant. No one ever sends an oral message either, but the *Iliad* pretty clearly assumes that the warriors at Troy could talk.

The treatment of Peleus and Achilles on pp. 71 ff. could be somewhat misleading. The unfamiliar reader might suppose that these Märchen qualities of Peleus and his son are all found in the *Iliad*; actually, many of them are not.

Once or twice Carpenter misstates unimportant facts about the contents of the Homeric poems. On p. 81 we read that the

issue of the war is to depend on the outcome of the duel between Hector and Aias. There is really no hint in the *Iliad* that this duel is to decide anything about the issue of the war, and Apollo's words in vii, 29-32, clearly show that such is not the divine purpose. In his eagerness to mark the parallel between Scylla and "Grendel's dam at the bottom of the haunted mere," Carpenter speaks of Scylla as "a dreadful she-monster who lives underwater" (137). Scylla is no doubt dreadful enough, but in the *Odyssey* she actually lives in a cave so high up on a cliff that a lusty man could not from a ship reach the cave with an arrow. And when she seizes Odysseus' men from his ship she lifts them up like fish on a line.

### *Bear and Bear's Son*

THE CHAPTER ON "The Cult of the Sleeping Bear" must be judged by experts in its field. For myself I can say only that the views expressed in it seem to me no more unlikely than many other speculations in this sphere.

The similarity between the story of Odysseus' wanderings and the *Beowulf* is not nearly so obvious to me as it is to Carpenter, and is certainly not sufficient to my mind to justify the statement that the two stories show "an almost identical plot." That both the legends of Odysseus and the *Beowulf* owe something to the folk tale of "The Bear's Son" is possible enough and all Homerists will probably welcome Carpenter's attempt to prove the connection. The feature of his argument which I find most disquieting is that while setting out to demonstrate that the master pattern of "The Bear's Son" "fits Homer," Carpenter considers Homer only part of the time and the rest of the time draws his supposed parallels from details of the Odysseus legend not in Homer at all. With considerable ingenuity it is possible to find a sort of parallel to "The Bear's Son" in "the legend of Odysseus," but I doubt if any ingenuity can really create much of a parallel between the various points in Panzer's master pattern of "The Bear's Son" and Homer's *Odyssey*. One must be very lenient to accept a parallelism in a third of the points. Of course,



I admit the possibility that if my familiarity with the science of folklore were greater I also might begin to see things. In any case, it is good that Carpenter has again reminded us, as Woodhouse did with his *Composition of Homer's Odyssey*, how peculiarly fascinating is the whole problem of the relationship between folk tale and the Homeric epic. One would like to know so much about the relationships among the folk tales themselves. What, for instance, is the connection (if any) between "The Bear's Son" and the widespread Polyphemus story, a truncated version of which seems to appear in it? And what is the connection between "The Bear's Son" and the old folk tale of "The Husband's Return," which is so perfectly reproduced in the *Odyssey* and which had such a renaissance in Europe after the Crusades? In view of the closeness with which the *Odyssey* follows even the details of the standard plot of "The Husband's Return," it seems most unlikely that Carpenter is right in suggesting that this motif in the *Odyssey* is derived from "The Bear's Son" and that Penelope is to be identified "with the rescued princess who is to become a bride for the first time."

### Style and Printing: Value

THE WRITING in these lectures is on the whole clear and admirable. There is some tendency to employ now and then an artificial word order, especially at the beginning of sentences, and to use obsolete words or words in an obsolete sense. I fancy the "latter" on the top of p. 4 should be "last." "Neither Beowulf nor Odysseus use their swords or knives" (137) seems beyond mere dubiety. Most surprising of all, the transla-

tion at the bottom of p. 20 has an unfortunate example of what *The New Yorker* calls "the omnipotent whom."

The printing and proofreading are almost faultless ("daughters" in the second note on p. 108 is the only misprint I noticed unless an accent was wanted on "Etudes" in the note on p. 160), and a great credit to the University of California Press. (I admit I do not know why the title is punctuated in three different ways on spine, fore-title, and title page.) Carpenter deliberately excluded from his book the learned paraphernalia of bibliography and extensive footnotes. The few footnotes are put where they belong at the foot of the page. I think there cannot be many who will prefer the green binding to the blue which served for Scott and Bassett, but we seem to live in a time when nothing mutable can be left unchanged.

No one who writes a book on Homer expects his fellow specialists to find all of it agreeable. It is clear, I think, that this is a book rich in suggestions which will be sufficiently irritating to most Homerists to impel them to re-examine many of the articles of their faith. It is a work whose theories must be reckoned with in all subsequent attacks on its problems. No Homerist can afford to neglect it. There is a suggestion that Carpenter will some day treat in detail the question of the authorship of the two poems and try to show that each is the work of one author and that they cannot be the work of the same man. The quality of the present book makes us hope that the "due occasion" for this will come soon.

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## GREEK SOCIAL OUTLOOK

DUNKIN, PAUL SHANER, *Post-Aristophanic Comedy, Studies in the Social Outlook of Middle and New Comedy at Both Athens and Rome*, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 31. 3-4: Urbana, University of Illinois Press (1946). Pp. 192. Paper \$2.50, Cloth \$3.00.

THIS IS A STUDY, inspired by the late Professor Oldfather, of certain aspects of the fragments of Menander (pages 17-56), of other poets of Greek Middle and New Comedy (143-176), and of the plays of Plautus (57-104) and Terence (105-137). To this are added a short comparison of Plautus

and Terence (138-140), a few remarks on Humor (141 f.), an excellent Bibliography (177-181), and a capacious Index (183-192).

In an Introduction (9-16) the author acknowledges that he writes with an ethical bias: "that the only really meritorious social outlook is that of the socially useful man; that is, the man whose activities tend to promote the welfare of human society as a whole" (14). The succeeding chapters examine systematically what external evidence there is for the biography of each author, next the utterances of his characters, classified according to social status (Rich Man: old and young, male and female, gentleman, procurer, and soldier; as contrasted with Poor Man: slave, parasite, and courtesan), and their relative importance, for good or evil, in the plots, finally certain "Attitudes" towards historical contemporaries (use of invective), learned traditions (myth), and "philosophy" (i.e. wordly wisdom) expressed inferentially by the authors, all with the object of answering the questions (14): "Whose bread did they eat? Whose song did they sing?"

One would expect the conclusions to reveal Menander as the defender of the Greek man of Property in a romanticized world strangely unlike reality, Plautus as sympathetic to the life of the Poor Man, and a boisterous caricaturist of all kinds of men in their relations with money, and Terence again as the somewhat desperate champion of a conventional, upper-class morality—and they do. But much more is provided than general conclusions. The texts and frag-

ments, quoted always in translation, have been thoroughly and discerningly combed. The author shows his acquaintance with a vast amount of scholarly discussion and dispute, and despite an earnest disclaimer (he is more interested in ethics), often succeeds in making illuminating literary criticism. Though there are some inaccuracies in detail and some errors of transcription (the worst of which gives us Flaminius for Flamininus on page 98), the analyses of character in action, according to the author's social dichotomy, result in an impressive and surprisingly consistent body of evidence bearing on the social attitudes of the authors.

One would like to see this method applied to the inheritors of the tradition of New Comedy, the realistic novel of Petronius and the Greek romances. But, after all, no one should expect to find more than conventional morality in romances, ancient or modern. The unhealthy and unscientific notion of the innate nobility of the Rich Man (see page 35, where Menander's Syrus is criticized for his utterance at *Ep.* 103-108) is at least as old as Herodotus' tale of the birth of Cyrus, and as genuinely popular. It is the great merit of this study, however, that it calls attention, forcibly and in language refreshingly uninhibited by scholarly reserve, to the one-sided social standards that condition nearly all literature in an age when slavery was condoned.

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## CANTARELLA'S CATULLUS

CANTARELLA, R. C. *Valerii Catulli Carmina Selecta*, con Note Italiane di F. Cantarella, Ottava Edizione Interamente Riveduta: Genova-Roma, Società Anonima Editrice Dante Alighieri (1946). Pp. 283. L. 240.

AMERICAN students of Catullus will be interested to know that this selection of the poet's works by F. Cantarella, which went

through seven editions to meet the demands of Italian students since 1897, has now been re-edited by his son, Raffaele Cantarella.<sup>1</sup> The success of this work, "già insolita in Italia per un libro scolastico," is not hard to understand. The poems selected, fifty-two in number (of the 64th poem lines 50-266 are included), are those which, in general, have the widest appeal, and they are elucidated by

notes that are compact yet very helpful, that open vistas to the student without oppressing him with undue detail.

The editor has the happy faculty of giving quite often the correct interpretation of passages where some previous editors have shown a tendency to fumble, as in the last line of the Sirmio poem (31. 14), *Ridete, quidquid est domi cachinnorum*, which is correctly interpreted as addressed to the waves, with the *quidquid* clause understood as the object of *ridete*, and the phrase *est domi* taken as equivalent to *quot possidetis*, as many other passages in Latin will confirm. Sometimes there is a slip that seems difficult to account for. *Cavē* (50. 18, for example) is derived "probabilmente" from an archaic *cavēre*, although this is surely just an ordinary case of iambic shortening, such as *avē* and *putā*, to mention only two similar instances. Some passages will perhaps always receive varying interpretations. In the lines, *Tam te basia multa basiare | Vesano satis et super Catullo est* (7. 9-10), it would seem much less effective to follow Cantarella and other editors in taking *te* as the subject rather than as the object of *basiare*, with *basia* as cognate accusative. To make this phrase as well as *basiationes | Tuae* (7. 1-2) depend for its meaning strictly on *Da mi basia* (5. 7), as some have done, is to carry the virtue of consistency farther than the nature of the subject matter permits.

Besides revising the text of the poems and the notes, the new editor has added an appendix to the original introduction in which he discusses with considerable acumen the poetic art of Catullus and the poet's technique of adapting Greek models. In this latter connection he treats at some length the adaptation of Sappho (51), but, unfortunately, only very briefly the adaptation of Callimachus' *Coma Berenices* (66). It would have seemed appropriate that more be said of the relation between the poem of Catullus and the fragment of Callimachus recovered in 1929, and that the recovery of these lines of

Callimachus have greater bearing on the interpretation of Catullus offered in the notes to his poem. In general, it might be remarked that a somewhat more thorough reworking of all the material in the book in the light of recent research would have been advisable.

It is good to know that classical scholarship continues in Italy in spite of adverse conditions, and that sound and stimulating editions like this one are being offered to potential Italian scholars. During the war years Catullan scholars have been surprisingly active in Italy. The editor conveniently lists in his bibliography a number of recent publications; since recent numbers of Marouzeau's *L'Année Philologique* are not yet generally available in this country, it might be of some interest to note the following: M. L. Positano, *Saffo*, Napoli, 1945; L. Alfonsi, *Poetae novi*, Como, 1945; E. Bignone, *Storia della letteratura latina*, vol. II, Firenze, 1945; R. Avalone, *Catullo e i suoi modelli latini*, Salerno, 1944; G. B. Pighi, "Commentariolus electorum. IV. Callimachi et Catulli Berenices coma," *Aevum* 18 (1944), 25-35; N. Herescu, *Catullo*, Roma, 1943; H. Bardon, *L'art de la composition chez Catulle*, Paris, 1943; E. Paratore, *Catullo poeta doctus*, Catania, 1942; P. Gilbert et M. Renard, "Les dates de naissance et de mort de Catulle," *L'antiquité classique* 11 (1942), 93-96; E. Bickel, "Der Kallimachospapyrus 'Die Locke der Berenike' und Catull als Uebersetzer," *Rh. Mus.* 90 (1941), 81-146; A. Ronconi, "Atteggiamenti e forme della parodia catulliana," *Atene e Roma* 1940; idem, *Per la storia del diminutivo latino*, Urbino, 1940; idem, *Allitterazione e stile in Catullo*, Urbino, 1939; A. Rostagni, *La letteratura di Roma repubblicana e augustea*, Bologna, 1939.

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#### NOTE

<sup>1</sup> For the opportunity of seeing this book I am indebted to Professor Stephan Kuttner, who on a recent trip to Italy received a copy from the hands of the author.

## TO JAMES A. KLEIST, S.J.

ARNOLD, RICHARD E., S.J. (editor), *Classical Essays Presented to James A. Kleist, S.J.*: St. Louis, The Classical Bulletin (1946). Pp. xx+122. \$2.95.

AN HONORARY degree, costing an institution little, is sometimes awarded for other than scholarly reasons; but a Festschrift is both a rarer and a more certainly sincere tribute to scholarly achievement. At the age of seventy-three, the genial Father Kleist, editor of the *Classical Bulletin* of St. Louis University for twenty years, received from his successor in the editorial chair this well-printed volume. To the compliments expressed by Father Preuss in his neatly phrased hendecasyllabics, *Cui dones*, and by the editor in his biographical and bibliographical introduction, we should like to add our hearty congratulations and best wishes. Long live the classical editors of America! and they do—as witness Gildersleeve, Shorey, Charles Knapp, and Father Kleist.

The essayists and their subjects are as follows: Walter R. Agard, The Greek Happy Warrior; William Hardy Alexander, *Honor, Fides*, and *Fortuna* in Horace, *Odes* 1.35.21-28; Norman J. DeWitt, The Peaceful Conquest of Gaul; Charles Christopher Mierow, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Vita Malchi Monachi Captivi*; Clyde Murley, The Didactic Significance of Erotic Figures in Plato; John A. Scott, The Church's Debt to Homer; and Francis A. Sullivan, S.J., Virgil's *Mezentius*.

Agard's description of Heracles as a happy warrior was a happy thought, and the thought is well executed. Taking his cue from Plato's demand that children should hear the right kind of stories, Agard examines the legends about Heracles and finds in them considerable moral edification and general acceptability by Plato's standard. Agard, ranging abroad like Heracles himself, pursues the legend in literature from Homer to Robert Graves, and in art from Myron to Manship. But is Seneca's work *God in Nature* (note 11) a new discovery?

Alexander's five-page article comes to grips at once with the problem of interpreting two difficult stanzas in Horace's Ode

to Fortune. His interpretation is succinct and clear, but seems forced and does not convince the present reviewer.

Editor DeWitt has here extended the study begun in his doctoral dissertation of the more peaceful aspects of the winning, and holding, of Gaul. He limits himself in this essay to Caesar's skilful maneuvers in the difficult arts of diplomacy and conciliation during his years in Gaul. We come to realize that Caesar, like the redoubtable T. R., was a dexterous exponent of the policy of speaking softly and carrying a big stick.

Mierow's project of a critical edition of St. Jerome's *Life of Malchus*, previously heralded by an article in the *Catholic World* and by prolegomena in *Speculum* for 1945, is a worthy one. But neither in *Speculum* nor here does he show cause for issuing an edition based on only five of the thirty-five Vatican MSS that he studied, to say nothing of the 267 Latin MSS elsewhere, and still other MSS in Greek and Syriac. In the huge University of Illinois volume of *Studies in the Text Tradition of St. Jerome's Vitae Patrum* (Urbana, 1943), Dr. Harriet Jameson on page 511 assigns some, though subordinate, value to only one of Mierow's five MSS (Vat. lat. 5411). We fear that the rationale of Mierow's edition, inadequately explained on two brief pages, is entirely unsound. Has he consulted the Illinois volume? We wish he had clarified this point and some others by being less chary of bibliographical data, both here and in his two preliminary articles. And it was a bad lapsus calami when he wrote in the *Catholic World* 162 (1945) 260 that "the first edition of St. Jerome's *Life of Malchus the Captive Monk* was that by Migne in the great series known as the *Patrologia Latina*." The accompanying translation of the life by Mierow is satisfactory, and we welcome the eleven illustrations photographed from a late MS (Vat. lat. 375).

Murley's proof that erotic words in Plato generally have an innocent and even educational connotation should be read by Warner Fite, *obtrektor Platonis*, and by all the zeal-



ous Freudian investigators whose motto is *cherchez l'infâme*.

Scott, himself a septuagenarian like Father Kleist, has provided the most thoughtful and thought-provoking essay in the volume. His argument is that Homer taught the Greeks such tolerance, religious and racial, and such freedom from debased superstitions, that they listened to the Gospel with open minds and accepted Christianity with astonishing rapidity and willingness. When the infant

faith was largely abandoned by the Jews, the Greeks embraced it and ably defended it in their writings. Imbued with the tolerant Homeric spirit, the Church in turn preserved the writings of the pagan Greeks.

Closing the volume is Father Sullivan's discriminating essay on Mezentius, which shows how Vergil's imagination needed very little straw to make excellent bricks.

CLARENCE A. FORBES

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## IMPERIAL SENATORS

DE LAET, SIEGFRIED J., *De Samenstelling van den Romeinschen Senaat gedurende de eerste eeuw van het Principaat (28 vóór Chr.-68 na Chr.) de Sikkel*, Antwerp; Nijhoff, 'S-gravenhage. (1941). Pp. 338.

THIS EXTREMELY useful book (in Flemish) is designed to do for the period from Augustus to Nero what Steh's did for the reigns from Vespasian to Trajan, and those of Lambrechts for the second and third centuries. The volume comprises three parts.

PART ONE (19-214) contains a prosopographical listing of known and probable senators in the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius and Nero. The sketches are brief where they follow PIR and RE, fuller where recent volumes of AE have provided supplementary information. PART TWO (217-248) consists of lists by numerical reference to the foregoing prosopography, (1) of the Senate's membership in the years 20 B.C., A.D. 14, 37, 42, 54 and 68, classified according to rank, and with each group divided between patricians and plebeians; (2) by reigns, of the patricians, whether of old families or ennobled by Julius, Augustus, or Claudius; (3) by reigns, of the senators of Italian origin; and (4) the provincial *fasti* for the period. PART THREE (251-307) is composed of five chapters of conclusions. The first narrates the history of the patriciate and the policy of the successive emperors toward it. The second is a similar discussion of the plebeian senators, and the third, of the emperors' policies on the admission of provincials to the Senate. The long-term provincial governorships under Tiberius are the subject of the fourth chapter; here De Laet

sees in Tiberius a monarchist, and in his policies a premature attempt at centralizing the government in the capital—a view which in the reviewer's judgment is quite unacceptable, as being counter to a mass of evidence on Tiberius, and very inadequately supported by this study. The last chapter contains some remarks on the invalidity for this period of ideas advanced regarding later times by Groag and Brassloff.

Finally a résumé in French recapitulates the whole, part by part and chapter by chapter.

De Laet regards the last six *consules ordinarii* under Nero as belletrists. For Telesinus wrote philosophical treatises (the only apparent evidence is that he was a friend of Apollonius and was exiled under Domitian); Paullinus composed memoirs of his campaign in the Atlas Mts.; Capito was friend of Juvenal and wrote verses (for this no discoverable evidence; is it distortion and corruption of Juv., 13.17 ff.?). Rufus wrote satiric verse (this rests on the identification of the consul, who died when Pliny was writing his *Natural History*, with a Rufus in Martial who may have written satire); Trachalus was an orator and was believed to be Otho's ghost writer; and Italicus was the epic poet. All this is very significant and, the author continues, naturally to be placed beside the literary madness of Nero who laid Rome in ashes to find inspiration for his *Fall of Troy*. But the book is not, of course, to be judged by this extraordinary vagary, here given most disproportionate attention.

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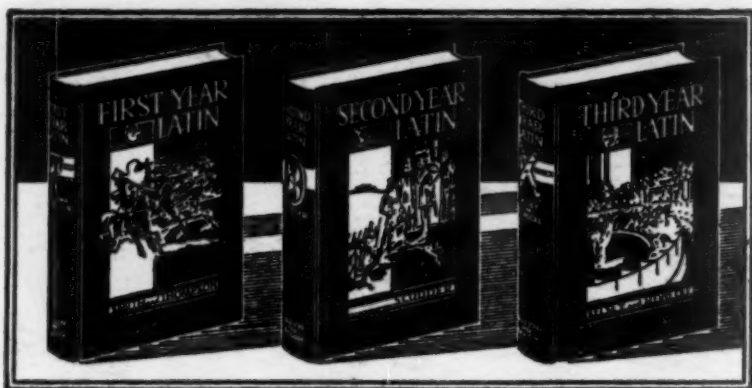
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